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KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

THE REVOLUTION IN 1688.

BY

DAVID HUME, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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CHAP. LIV. 1640.

The causes of disgust which, for above thirty years, had been daily multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great revolution or convulsion. The uncertain and undefined limits of prerogative and privilege had been eagerly disputed during that whole period; and in every controversy between prince and people, the question, however doubtful, had always been decided by each party in favour of its own pretensions. Too lightly, perhaps, moved by the appearance of necessity, the king had even assumed powers incompatible with the principles of limited government, and had rendered it impossible for his most zealous partisans entirely to justify his conduct, except by topics so unpopular, that they were more fitted, in the present disposition of men's minds, to inflame than appease the general discontent. Those great supports of public authority, law and religion, had likewise, by the unbounded compliance of judges and prelates, lost much of their influence over the people; or rather, had in a great measure gone over to the side of faction, and authorized the spirit of opposition and rebellion. The nobility, also, whom the king had no means

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of retaining by offices and preferments suitable to their rank, had been seized with the general discontent, and unwarily threw themselves into the scale which already began too much to preponderate. Sensible of some encroachments which had been made by royal authority, men entertained no jealousy of the Commons, whose enterprises for the acquisition of power had ever been covered with the appearance of public good, and had hitherto gone no farther than some disappointed efforts and endeavours. The progress of the Scottish malecontents reduced the crown to an entire dependence for supply: their union with the popular party in England brought great accession of authority to the latter: the near prospect of success roused all latent murmurs and pretensions, which had hitherto been held in such violent constraint: and the torrent of general inclination and opinion ran so strongly against the court, that the king was in no situation to refuse any reasonable demands of the popular leaders, either for defining or limiting the powers of his prerogative. Even many exorbitant claims, in his present situation, would probably be made, and must necessarily be complied with.

The triumph of the malecontents over the church was not yet so immediate or certain. Though the political and religious puritans mutually lent assistance to each other, there were many who joined the former, yet declined all connexion with the latter. The hierarchy had been established in England ever since the reformation: the Romish church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of ecclesiastical government: the ancient fathers, too, bore testimony to episcopal jurisdiction: and though parity may seem at first to have had place among Christian pastors, the period during which it prevailed was so short, that few undisputed traces of it remained in history. The bishops, and their more zealous partisans, inferred thence the divine indefeasible right of prelacy: others regarded that institution as venerable and useful: and if the love of novelty led some to adopt the new rites and discipline of the puritans, the reverence to antiquity retained many in their attachment to the liturgy and government of the church; it behoved, therefore, the zealous innovators in Parliament to pro-

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ceed with some caution and reserve. By promoting all measures which reduced the powers of the crown, they hoped to disarm the king, whom they justly regarded, from principle, inclination, and policy, to be the determined patron of the hierarchy. By declaiming against the supposed encroachments and tyranny of the prelates, they endeavoured to carry the nation from a hatred of their persons, to an opposition against their office and character. And when men were enlisted in party, it would not be difficult, they thought, to lead them, by degrees, into many measures, for which they formerly entertained the greatest aversion. Though the new sectaries composed not, at first, the majority of the nation, they were inflamed, as is usual among innovators, with extreme zeal for their opinions. Their unsurmountable passion, disguised to themselves, as well as to others, under the appearance of holy fervours, was well qualified to make proselytes, and to seize the minds of the ignorant multitude. And one furious enthusiast was able, by his active industry, to surmount the indolent efforts of many sober and reasonable antagonists.

When the nation, therefore, was so generally discontented, and little suspicion was entertained of any design to subvert the church and monarchy; no wonder that almost all elections ran in favour of those who, by their high pretensions to piety and patriotism, had encouraged the national prejudices. It is a usual compliment to regard the king's inclination in the choice of a speaker; and Charles had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important trust; but so little interest did the crown at that time possess in the nation, that Gardiner was disappointed of his election, not only in London, but in every other place where it was attempted: and the king was obliged to make the choice of speaker fall on Lenthall, a lawyer of some character, but not sufficiently qualified for so high and difficult an office [a].

Meeting of the Long Parliament, Nov. 3.

The eager expectations of men with regard to a Parliament summoned at so critical a juncture, and during such general discontents; a Parliament which, from the situation of public affairs, could not be abruptly dissolved, and which was to execute every thing left unfinished by

[a] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 169.

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former Parliaments; these motives, so important and interesting, engaged the attendance of all the members; and the House of Commons was never observed to be, from the beginning, so full and numerous. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business, and, by unanimous consent, they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive.

The Earl of Strafford was considered as chief minister, both on account of the credit which he possessed with his master, and of his own great and uncommon vigour and capacity. By a concurrence of accidents, this man laboured under the severe hatred of all the three nations which composed the British monarchy. The Scots, whose authority now ran extremely high, looked on him as the capital enemy of their country, and one whose counsels and influence they had most reason to apprehend. He had engaged the Parliament of Ireland to advance large subsidies, in order to support a war against them: he had levied an army of nine thousand men, with which he had menaced all their western coast: he had obliged the Scots who lived under his government to renounce the covenant, their national idol: he had, in Ireland, proclaimed the Scottish covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the king had issued any such declaration against them in England: and he had ever dissuaded his master against the late treaty and suspension of arms, which he regarded as dangerous and dishonourable. So avowed and violent were the Scots in their resentment of all these measures, that they had refused to send commissioners to treat at York, as was at first proposed; because, they said, the Lieutenant of Ireland, their capital enemy, being general of the king's forces, had there the chief command and authority.

Strafford, first as deputy, then as lord lieutenant, had governed Ireland during eight years with great vigilance, activity, and prudence, but with very little popularity. In a nation so averse to the English government and religion, these very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. The manners too and character of this great man, though to all full of courtesy, and to his friends full of affection, were at bottom haughty, rigid, and severe. His authority and influence, during

the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed up at once, and the Irish Parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him.

The universal discontent which prevailed in England against the court was all pointed towards the Earl of Strafford; though without any particular reason, but because he was the minister of state whom the king most favoured and most trusted. His extraction was honourable, his paternal fortune considerable: yet envy attended his sudden and great elevation. And his former associates in popular councils, finding that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, represented him as the great apostate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to sacrifice as a victim to public justice.

Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance in Parliament; and he begged the king's permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire; where many opportunities, he hoped, would offer, by reason of his distance, to elude the attacks of his enemies. But Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical session which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of his appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, the king, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him that not a hair of his head should be touched by the Parliament [b].

11th Nov.

No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the House of Commons. Pym, in a long, studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner, enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and, from a complication of such oppressions, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing entirely the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom [c]. Could any thing, he said,

Strafford impeached.

[b] Whitlocke, p. 36.

[c] Id. ibid.

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increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution had been endangered by the worst of ministers, and that the virtues of the king had been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsel. We must inquire, added he, from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and though doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet is there one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprise, and capacity, is entitled to the first place among these betrayers of their country. He is the Earl of Strafford, Lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been entrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny; and will appear, from a survey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counsel. Some instances of imperious expressions, as well as actions, were given by Pym; who afterwards entered into a more personal attack of that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manners. The austere genius of Strafford, occupied in the pursuits of ambition, had not rendered his breast altogether inaccessible to the tender passions, or secured him from the dominion of the fair; and in that sullen age, when the irregularities of pleasure were more reproachful than the most odious crimes, these weaknesses were thought worthy of being mentioned, together with his treasons, before so great an assembly. And upon the whole, the orator concluded, that it belonged to the House to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs, justly to be apprehended from the influence which this man had acquired over the measures and counsels of their sovereign [d].

Sir John Clotworthy, an Irish gentleman, Sir John Hotham, of Yorkshire, and many others, entered into the same topics; and after several hours spent in bitter invective, when the doors were locked in order to prevent all discovery of their purpose; it was moved, in consequence of the resolution secretly taken, that Strafford should immediately be impeached of high treason. This

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 172.

motion was received with universal approbation; nor was there, in all the debate, one person that offered to stop the torrent by any testimony in favour of the earl's conduct. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, modestly desired the House to consider, whether it would not better suit the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest by a committee many of those particulars which had been mentioned, before they sent up an accusation against him. It was ingenuously answered by Pym, that such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed any farther in the prosecution: that when Strafford should learn, that so many of his enormities were discovered, his conscience would dictate his condemnation; and so great was his power and credit, he would immediately procure the dissolution of the Parliament, or attempt some other desperate measure for his own preservation: that the Commons were only accusers, not judges; and it was the province of the Peers to determine whether such a complication of enormous crimes, in one person, did not amount to the highest crime known by the law[e]. Without farther debate, the impeachment was voted: Pym was chosen to carry it up to the Lords: most of the House accompanied him on so agreeable an errand: and Strafford, who had just entered the House of Peers, and who little expected so speedy a prosecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into custody, with several symptoms of violent prejudice in his judges, as well as in his prosecutors.

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In the inquiry concerning grievances, and in the censure of past measures, Laud could not long escape the severe scrutiny of the Commons; who were led, too, in their accusation of that prelate, as well by their prejudices against his whole order, as by the extreme antipathy which his intemperate zeal had drawn upon him. After a deliberation, which scarcely lasted half an hour, an impeachment of high treason was voted against this subject, the first both in rank and in favour, throughout the kingdom. Though this incident, considering the example of Strafford's impeachment, and the present disposition of the nation and Parliament, needed be no

Laud impeached.

[e] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 174.

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surprise to him; yet was he betrayed into some passion, when the accusation was presented. *The Commons themselves*, he said, *though his accusers, did not believe him guilty of the crimes with which they charged him:* an indiscretion which, next day, upon more mature deliberation, he desired leave to retract; but so little favourable were the Peers, that they refused him this advantage or indulgence. Laud also was immediately, upon this general charge, sequestered from Parliament, and committed to custody[f].

The capital article insisted on against these two great men was the design which the Commons supposed to have been formed, of subverting the laws and constitution of England, and introducing arbitrary and unlimited authority into the kingdom. Of all the king's ministers, no one was so obnoxious in this respect as the lord-keeper Finch. He it was, who, being speaker in the king's third Parliament, had left the chair, and refused to put the question, when ordered by the House. The extra-judicial opinion of the judges in the case of ship-money had been procured by his intrigues, persuasions, and even menaces. In all unpopular and illegal measures, he was ever most active; and he was even believed to have declared publicly, that while he was keeper, an order of council should always, with him, be equivalent to a law. To appease the rising displeasure of the Commons, he desired to be heard at their bar. He prostrated himself with all humility before them; but this submission availed him nothing. An impeachment was resolved on; and in order to escape their fury, he thought proper secretly to withdraw and retire into Holland. As he was not esteemed equal to Strafford, or even to Laud, either in capacity or in fidelity to his master, it was generally believed that his escape had been connived at by the popular leaders[g]. His impeachment, however, in his absence, was carried up to the House of Peers.

Lord-keeper Finch flies.

Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, was a creature of Laud's; a sufficient reason for his being extremely obnoxious to the Commons. He was secretly suspected too of the crime of popery; and it was known that, from

[f] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 177. Whitlocke, p. 38. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1365.
[g] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 177. Whitlocke, p. 38. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 129. 136.

complaisance to the queen, and indeed in compliance with the king's maxims of government, he had granted many indulgences to Catholics, and had signed warrants for the pardon of priests, and their delivery from confinement. Grimstone, a popular member, called him, in the House, the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon[h]. Finding that the scrutiny of the Commons was pointed towards him, and being sensible that England was no longer a place of safety for men of his character, he suddenly made his escape into France[i].

Secretary Windebank flies.

Thus, in a few weeks, this House of Commons, not opposed, or rather seconded, by the Peers, had produced such a revolution in the government, that the two most powerful and most favoured ministers of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life: two other ministers had, by flight alone, saved themselves from a like fate: all the king's servants saw that no protection could be given them by their master: a new jurisdiction was erected in the nation; and before that tribunal all those trembled, who had before exulted most in their credit and authority.

Great authority of the Commons.

What rendered the power of the Commons more formidable was, the extreme prudence with which it was conducted. Not content with the authority which they had acquired by attacking these great ministers, they were resolved to render the most considerable bodies of the nation obnoxious to them. Though the idol of the people, they determined to fortify themselves likewise with terrors, and to overawe those who might still be inclined to support the falling ruins of monarchy.

During the late military operations several powers had been exercised by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties: and these powers, though necessary for the defence of the nation, and even warranted by all former precedent, yet not being authorized by statute, were now voted to be illegal, and the persons who had assumed them declared *delinquents*. This term was newly come into vogue, and expressed a degree or species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained. In consequence of that determination, many of the nobility and prime

[h] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 122. [i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 178. Whitlocke, p. 37.

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gentry of the nation, while only exerting, as they justly thought, the legal powers of magistracy, unexpectedly found themselves involved in the crime of delinquency. And the Commons reaped this multipled advantage by their vote: they disarmed the crown; they established the maxims of rigid law and liberty; and they spread the terror of their own authority[k].

The writs for ship-money had been directed to the sheriffs, who were required, and even obliged, under severe penalties, to assess the sums upon individuals, and to levy them by their authority. Yet were all the sheriffs, and all those who had been employed in that illegal service, voted, by a very rigorous sentence, to be delinquents. The king, by the maxims of law, could do no wrong; his ministers and servants, of whatever degree, in case of any violation of the constitution, were alone culpable[l].

All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, and the new impositions, were likewise declared criminals, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high commission, courts which, from their very constitution, were arbitrary, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had concurred in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of law[m]. No minister of the king, no member of the council, but found himself exposed by this decision.

The judges who had given their vote against Hambden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the Peers, and obliged to find surety for their appearance. Berkeley, a judge of the king's bench, was seized by order of the House, even when sitting in his tribunal; and all men saw with astonishment the irresistible authority of their jurisdiction[n].

The sanction of the Lords and Commons, as well as that of the king, was declared necessary for the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons[o]. And this judgment, it

[k] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 176. [l] Ibid.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 177. [n] Whitlocke, p. 39. [o] Nalson, vol. i. p. 678.

must be confessed, however reasonable, at least useful, it would have been difficult to justify by any precedent [p]. But the present was no time for question or dispute. That decision which abolished all legislative power, except that of Parliament, was requisite for completing the new plan of liberty, and rendering it quite uniform and systematical. Almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convocation, found themselves exposed by these new principles to the imputation of delinquency [q].

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The most unpopular of all Charles's measures, and the least justifiable, was the revival of monopolies, so solemnly abolished, after reiterated endeavours, by a recent act of Parliament. Sensible of this unhappy measure, the king had of himself recalled, during the time of his first expedition against Scotland, many of these oppressive patents: and the rest were now annulled by authority of Parliament, and every one who was concerned in them declared delinquents. The Commons carried so far their detestation of this odious measure, that they assumed a power which had formerly been seldom practised [r], and they expelled all their members who were monopolists or projectors: an artifice, by which, besides increasing their own privileges, they weakened still farther the very small party which the king secretly retained in the House. Mildmay, a notorious monopolist, yet having associated himself with the ruling party, was still allowed to keep his seat. In all questions, indeed, of elections, no steady rule of decision was observed; and nothing farther was regarded than the affections and attachments of the parties [s]. Men's passions were too much heated to be shocked with any instance of injustice, which served ends so popular as those which were pursued by this House of Commons.

[p] An act of Parliament, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19, allowed the convocation, with the king's consent, to make canons. By the famous act of submission to that prince, the clergy bound themselves to enact no canons without the king's consent. The Parliament was never mentioned nor thought of. Such pretensions as the Commons advanced at present would, in any former age, have been deemed strange usurpations.

[q] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 206. Whitlocke, p. 37. Rushw. vol. v. p. 235. 359. Nalson, vol. i. p. 807.

[r] Lord Clarendon says it was entirely new; but there are instances of it in the reign of Elizabeth. D'Ewes, p. 296. 352. There are also instances in the reign of James.

[s] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 176.

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The whole sovereign power being thus in a manner transferred to the Commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed in a moment from a monarchy almost absolute to a pure democracy; the popular leaders seemed willing for some time to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it. Every day produced some new harangue on past grievances. The detestation of former usurpations was farther enlivened; the jealousy of liberty roused; and agreeably to the spirit of free government, no less indignation was excited by the view of a violated constitution, than by the ravages of the most enormous tyranny.

This was the time when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated the sagacity of Pym, more fitted for use than ornament; matured, not chilled, by his advanced age and long experience: then was displayed the mighty ambition of Hambden, taught disguise, not moderation, from former constraint; supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty; but whether founded in a love of power or zeal for liberty, is still, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain: then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous spirit of Hollis, violent and sincere, open and entire in his enmities and in his friendships; the enthusiastic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends which he pursued, sagacious and profound in the means which he employed; incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.

So little apology would be received for past measures, so contagious the general spirit of discontent, that even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the church and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the redress of grievances, and in prosecuting the authors of them. The lively and animated Digby displayed his eloquence on this occasion, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modest and candid

Palmer. In this list too of patriot royalists are found the virtuous names of Hyde and Falkland. Though in their ultimate views and intentions these men differed widely from the former, in their present actions and discourses an entire concurrence and unanimity was observed. CHAP. LIV. 1640.

By the daily harangues and invectives against illegal usurpations, not only the House of Commons inflamed themselves with the highest animosity against the court; the nation caught new fire from the popular leaders, and seemed now to have made the first discovery of the many supposed disorders in the government. While the law in several instances seemed to be violated, they went no farther than some secret and calm murmurs; but mounted up into rage and fury, as soon as the constitution was thought to be restored to its former integrity and vigour. The capital especially, being the seat of Parliament, was highly animated with the spirit of mutiny and disaffection. Tumults were daily raised; seditious assemblies encouraged; and every man, neglecting his own business, was wholly intent on the defence of liberty and religion. By stronger contagion, the popular affections were communicated from breast to breast, in this place of general rendezvous and society.

The harangues of members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the Commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. Vengeance was fully taken for the long silence and constraint in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commission, these preachers had been retained. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions dangerous by their seditious zeal and calumny more than by any art or eloquence of composition. Noise and fury, cant and hypocrisy, formed the sole rhetoric which, during this tumult of various prejudices and passions, could be heard or attended to.

The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwic, and Burton, now suffered a revisal from Parliament. These libellers, far from being tamed by the rigorous

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punishments which they had undergone, showed still a disposition of repeating their offence; and the ministers were afraid lest new satires should issue from their prisons, and still farther inflame the prevailing discontents. By an order, therefore, of council, they had been carried to remote prisons; Bastwic to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink, and paper, was refused them. The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed in an arbitrary manner by the Commons: even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal: and the judges who passed it were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers[t]. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended by a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, all the inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased, as they drew nigh to London. Some miles from the city, the zealots of their party met them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphant entrance: boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession: the roads were strewed with flowers, and amidst the highest exultations of joy were intermingled loud and virulent invectives against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages[u]. The more ignoble these men were, the more sensible was the insult upon royal authority, and the more dangerous was the spirit of disaffection and mutiny which it discovered among the people.

Lilburne, Leighton, and every one that had been punished for seditious libels during the preceding administration, now recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages from the judges and ministers of justice[w].

Not only the present disposition of the nation ensured impunity to all libellers: a new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of popular

[t] Nalson, vol. i. p. 783. May, p. 79.
[u] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 199, 200, &c. Nalson, vol. i. p. 570. May, p. 80.
[w] Rushw. vol. v. p. 228. Nalson, vol. i. p. 800.

discontent. Petitions to Parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the Commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints which they contained.

It is pretended by historians favourable to the royal cause[x], and is even asserted by the king himself in a declaration[y], that a most disingenuous or rather criminal practice prevailed, in conducting many of these addresses. A petition was first framed; moderate, reasonable, such as men of character willingly subscribed. The names were afterwards torn off and affixed to another petition, which served better the purposes of the popular faction. We may judge of the wild fury which prevailed throughout the nation, when so scandalous an imposture, which affected such numbers of people, could be openly practised, without drawing infamy and ruin upon the managers.

So many grievances were offered, both by the members, and by petitions without doors, that the House was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of some particular violation of law and liberty, which had been complained of. Besides the general committees of religion, trade, privileges, laws; many subdivisions of these were framed, and a strict scrutiny was every where carried on. It is to be remarked, that, before the beginning of this century, when the Commons assumed less influence and authority, complaints of grievances were usually presented to the House by any members who had had particular opportunity of observing them. These general committees, which were a kind of inquisitorial courts, had not then been established; and we find that the king, in a former declaration[z], complains loudly of this innovation, so little favourable to royal authority. But never was so much multiplied as at present the use of these committees; and the Commons, though themselves the greatest inno-

x Dugdale. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 203. y Husb. Col. p. 536.
z Published on dissolving the third Parliament. See Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 347.

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vators, employed the usual artifice of complaining against innovations, and pretending to recover the ancient and established government.

From the reports of their committees, the House daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, and inflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hambden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions for knighthood stigmatized; the enlargement of the forests condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late measure of administration treated with reproach and obloquy. To-day, a sentence of the star-chamber was exclaimed against: to-morrow, a decree of the high commission. Every discretionary act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was still inculcated, that a formed design had been laid to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

From necessity, the king remained entirely passive during all these violent operations. The few servants, who continued faithful to him, were seized with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the Commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their unactive and inoffensive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those who, from interest or habit, were most attached to monarchy. And as for those who maintained their duty to the king, merely from their regard to the constitution, they seemed by their concurrence to swell that inundation which began already to deluge every thing. "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles in a discourse to the Parliament; "a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire; so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the Commons. The machine, they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which retarded and crossed its operations, and destroyed its utility. Happy! had they proceeded with modera-

tion, and been contented, in their present plenitude of power, to remove such parts only as might justly be deemed superfluous and incongruous.

In order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, the Commons, besides confounding and overawing their opponents, judged it requisite to inspire courage into their friends and adherents; particularly into the Scots, and the religious puritans, to whose assistance and good offices they were already so much beholden.

No sooner were the Scots masters of the northern counties, than they laid aside their first professions, which they had not indeed means to support, of paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the destructive expedient of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day, in full of their subsistence[a]. The Parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burden, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum[b], were at first voted; and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members who, by their private, had supported public credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by Parliament: a practice which, as it diminished the authority of the crown, was willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the Commons, with regard to every branch of revenue which they granted to the king. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the Parliament; the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection in which he was now held; the Commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders, till all their own enemies should be suppressed, and all their purposes effected. *We cannot yet spare the Scots*, said Strode plainly in the House, *the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us*[c]: an allusion to a passage of Scripture,

[a] Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1295.
[b] It appears that a subsidy was now fallen to fifty thousand pounds.
[c] Dugdale, p. 71.

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according to the mode of that age. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies; a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge; the Commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malecontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the most unlimited complaisance and the most important services. The king having, in his first speech, called them *rebels*, observed that he had given great offence to the Parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even retract the expression. The Scottish commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the Earl of Rothes and Lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely disaffected, as with the popular leaders in both Houses. St. Antholine's church was assigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practise the presbyterian form of worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration. So violent was the general propensity towards this new religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded to the church. Those, who were so happy as to find access early in the morning, kept their places the whole day: those who were excluded, clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching, at least, some distant murmur or broken phrases of the holy rhetoric[d]. All the eloquence of Parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such insatiable avidity as were these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and of ignorance.

The most effectual expedient for paying court to the

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 189.

zealous Scots was to promote the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England, and to this innovation, the popular leaders among the Commons, as well as their more devoted partisans, were, of themselves, sufficiently inclined. The puritanical party, whose progress, though secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. The prevalence of that sect in the Parliament discovered itself, from the beginning, by insensible but decisive symptoms. Marshall and Burgess, two puritanical clergymen, were chosen to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length [e]. It being the custom of the House always to take the sacrament before they enter upon business, they ordered, as a necessary preliminary, that the communion-table should be removed from the east end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area [f]. The name of the *spiritual lords* was commonly left out in Acts of Parliament; and the laws ran in the name of King, Lords, and Commons. The clerk of the Upper House, in reading bills, turned his back on the bench of bishops; nor was his insolence ever taken notice of. On a day appointed for a solemn fast and humiliation, all the orders of temporal peers, contrary to former practice, in going to church, took place of the spiritual; and Lord Spencer remarked that the humiliation, that day, seemed confined alone to the prelates.

The bishops attacked.

Every meeting of the Commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high commission, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgusted were all lovers of civil liberty at the doctrines promoted by the clergy, that these invectives were received without control; and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and such as pretended totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious priesthood was commonly applied

[e] Nalson, vol. i. p. 530. 533.

[f] Idem, ibid. p. 537.

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to all churchmen, addicted to the established discipline and worship; though the episcopal clergy in England, during that age, seem to have been, as they are at present, sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of religion, and pretended to be signed by many hundreds of the puritanical persuasion. But what made most noise was, the city petition for a total alteration of church government; a petition to which fifteen thousand subscriptions were annexed, and which was presented by Alderman Pennington, the city member [g]. It is remarkable that, among the many ecclesiastical abuses there complained of, an allowance, given by the licensers of books, to publish a translation of Ovid's Art of Love, is not forgotten by these rustic censors [h].

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the people, the leaders in the House resolved to proceed with caution. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office. As a consequence, the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the House of Peers; a measure not unacceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who observed with regret the devoted attachment of that order to the will of the monarch. But when this bill was presented to the Peers, it was rejected by a great majority [i]: the first check which the Commons had received in their popular career, and a prognostic of what they might afterwards expect from the Upper House, whose inclinations and interests could never be totally separated from the throne. But to show how little they were discouraged, the puritans immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy; though they thought proper to let the bill sleep at present, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity of reviving it [k].

Among other acts of regal executive power, which the Commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and from his abhorrence of that superstí-

[g] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 203. Whitlocke, p. 37. Nalson, vol. i. p. 666.
[h] Rushw. vol. v. p. 171. [i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 237. [k] Idem, ibid.

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tious figure, would not any where allow one piece of wood or stone to lie over another at right angles [l].

The Bishop of Ely and other clergymen were attacked on account of innovations [m]. Cozens, who had long been obnoxious, was exposed to new censures. This clergyman, who was Dean of Peterborough, was extremely zealous for ecclesiastical ceremonies: and so far from permitting the communicants to break the sacramental bread with their fingers, a privilege on which the puritans strenuously insisted, he would not so much as allow it to be cut with an ordinary household instrument. A consecrated knife must perform that sacred office, and must never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar service [n].

Cozens likewise was accused of having said, *The king has no more authority in ecclesiastical matters than the boy who rubs my horse's heels* [o]. The expression was violent: but it is certain, that all those high churchmen, who were so industrious in reducing the laity to submission, were extremely fond of their own privileges and independency, and were desirous of exempting the mitre from all subjection to the crown.

A committee was elected by the Lower House, as a court of inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *scandalous ministers*. The politicians among the Commons were apprized of the great importance of the pulpit for guiding the people; the bigots were enraged against the prelatical clergy; and both of them knew that no established government could be overthrown by strictly observing the principles of justice, equity, or clemency. The proceedings, therefore, of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc both on the church and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy; and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them. In order to join contumely to cruelty, they gave the sufferers the epithet of *scandalous*, and endeavoured to render them as odious as they were miserable [p]. The greatest vices, however, which they could reproach to a great part

[l] Whitlocke, p. 45. [m] Rushw. vol. v. p. 351. [n] Ibid. p. 203.
[o] Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 282. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 209.
[p] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 199. Whitlocke, p. 122. May, p. 81.

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of them, were, bowing at the name of Jesus, placing the communion-table in the east, reading the king's orders for sports on Sunday, and other practices which the established government, both in church and state, had strictly enjoined them.

It may be worth observing, that all historians, who lived near that age, or what perhaps is more decisive, all authors who have casually made mention of those public transactions, still represent the civil disorders and convulsions as proceeding from religious controversy, and consider the political disputes about power and liberty as entirely subordinate to the other. It is true, had the king been able to support government, and at the same time to abstain from all invasion of national privileges, it seems not probable that the puritans ever could have acquired such authority as to overturn the whole constitution: yet so entire was the subjection into which Charles was now fallen, that had not the wound been poisoned by the infusion of theological hatred, it must have admitted of an easy remedy. Disuse of Parliaments, imprisonments and prosecution of members, ship-money, an arbitrary administration; these were loudly complained of: but the grievances which tended chiefly to inflame the Parliament and nation, especially the latter, were the surplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the sabbath, embroidered copes, lawn sleeves, the use of the ring in marriage, and of the cross in baptism. On account of these, were the popular leaders content to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and, to the disgrace of that age and of this island, it must be acknowledged that the disorders in Scotland entirely, and those in England mostly, proceeded from so mean and contemptible an origin [q].

Some persons, partial to the patriots of this age, have ventured to put them in balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity; and mentioned the names

[q] Lord Clarendon, vol. i. p. 233, says, that the parliamentary party were not agreed about the entire abolition of episcopacy: they were only the *root and branch* men, as they were called, who insisted on that measure. But those who were willing to retain bishops, insisted on reducing their authority to a low ebb; as well as on abolishing the ceremonies of worship, and vestments of the clergy. The controversy, therefore, between the parties was almost wholly theological, and that of the most frivolous and ridiculous kind.

of Pym, Hambden, Vane, as a just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extensive enterprise; in these particulars, perhaps, the Roman do not much surpass the English worthies: but what a difference, when the discourse, conduct, conversation, and private as well as public behaviour of both are inspected! Compare only one circumstance, and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble ancients was totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy; in the cultivation of polite letters and civilized society: the whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy.

The laws, as they stood at present, protected the church, but they exposed the Catholics to the utmost rage of the puritans; and these unhappy religionists, so obnoxious to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain long unmolested. The voluntary contribution which they had made, in order to assist the king in his war against the Scottish covenanters, was inquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity[r]. By an address from the Commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the king for seizing two-thirds of the lands of recusants; a proportion to which, by law, he was entitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess upon easy compositions. The execution of the severe and bloody laws against priests was insisted on; and one Goodman, a Jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles, however, agreeably to his principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the Commons expressed great resentment on the occasion[s]. There remains a singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the king and his people[t]. He escaped with his life; but it seems more probable that he was overlooked amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and generosity.

[r] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 160.
[s] Idem, ibid. p. 158, 159. Nalson, vol. i. p. 739.
[t] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 166. Nalson, vol. i. p. 749.

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For some years, Con, a Scotchman, afterwards, Rosetti, an Italian, had openly resided at London, and frequented the court, as vested with a commission from the pope. The queen's zeal, and her authority with her husband, had been the cause of this imprudence, so offensive to the nation [u]. But the spirit of bigotry now rose too high to permit any longer such indulgences [w].

Hayward, a justice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exercise of his office, by one James, a Catholic madman, this enormity was ascribed to the popery, not to the frenzy, of the assassin; and great alarms seized the nation and Parliament [x]. An universal conspiracy of the Papists was supposed to have taken place; and every man, for some days, imagined that he had a sword at his throat. Though some persons of family and distinction were still attached to the Catholic superstition, it is certain that the numbers of that sect did not amount to the fortieth part of the nation: and the frequent panics to which men, during this period, were so subject on account of the Catholics, were less the effects of fear, than of extreme rage and aversion entertained against them.

The queen-mother of France, having been forced into banishment by some court intrigues, had retired into England; and expected shelter, amidst her present distresses, in the dominions of her daughter and son-in-law. But though she behaved in the most inoffensive manner, she was insulted by the populace on account of her religion; and was even threatened with worse treatment. The Earl of Holland, lieutenant of Middlesex, had ordered a hundred musqueteers to guard her; but finding that they had imbibed the same prejudices with the rest of their countrymen, and were unwillingly employed in such a service, he laid the case before the House of Peers; for the king's authority was now entirely annihilated. He represented the indignity of the action, that

[u] It is now known from the Clarendon papers, that the king had also an authorized agent who resided at Rome. His name was Bret, and his chief business was to negotiate with the pope concerning indulgences to the Catholics, and to engage the Catholics in return to be good and loyal subjects. But this whole matter, though very innocent, was most carefully kept secret. The king says, that he believed Bret to be as much his as any Papist could be. See p. 348. 354.

[w] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 301.

[x] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 249. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 57.

so great a princess, mother to the King of France, and to the Queens of Spain and England, should be affronted by the multitude. He observed the indelible reproach which would fall upon the nation, if that unfortunate queen should suffer any violence from the misguided zeal of the people. He urged the sacred rights of hospitality due to every one, much more to a person in distress, of so high a rank, with whom the nation was so nearly connected. The Peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the Commons, whose authority over the people was absolute. The Commons agreed to the necessity of protecting the queen-mother; but at the same time prayed that she might be desired to depart the kingdom: "for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about the queen's person, by the flowing of priests and Papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass, and exercise of other superstitious services of the Romish church, to the great scandal of true religion [y]."

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Charles, in the former part of his reign, had endeavoured to overcome the intractable and encroaching spirit of the Commons, by a perseverance in his own measures, by a stately dignity of behaviour, and by maintaining at their utmost height, and even perhaps stretching beyond former precedent, the rights of his prerogative. Finding, by experience, how unsuccessful those measures had proved, and observing the low condition to which he was now reduced, he resolved to alter his whole conduct, and to regain the confidence of his people, by pliableness, by concessions, and by a total conformity to their inclinations and prejudices. It may safely be averred, that this new extreme into which the king, for want of proper counsel or support, was fallen, became no less dangerous to the constitution, and pernicious to public peace, than the other in which he had so long and so unfortunately persevered.

The pretensions with regard to tonnage and poundage were revived, and with certain assurance of success, by the Commons [z]. The levying of these duties, as formerly,

Tonnage and poundage.

[y] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 267.

[z] It appears not that the Commons, though now entirely masters, abolished

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without consent of Parliament, and even increasing them at pleasure, was such an incongruity in a free constitution, where the people, by their fundamental privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own consent, as could no longer be endured by these jealous patrons of liberty. In the preamble therefore to the bill, by which the Commons granted these duties to the king, they took care, in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and subjection of the king, they voted these duties only for two months, and afterwards, from time to time, renewed their grants for very short periods [a]. Charles, in order to show that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his Parliament, passed this important bill without any scruple or hesitation [b].

Triennial bill.

With regard to the bill for triennial Parliaments, he made a little difficulty. By an old statute, passed during the reign of Edward III., it had been enacted, that Parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently, if necessary: but as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for execution, this statute had been considered merely as a general declaration, and was dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the third of September in every third year, any twelve or more of the Peers should be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the Peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters: and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regu-

the new impositions of James, against which they had formerly so loudly complained: a certain proof that the rates of customs, settled by that prince, were in most instances just, and proportioned to the new price of commodities. They seem rather to have been low. See Journ. 10th Aug. 1625.

[a] It was an instruction given by the House to the committee which framed one of these bills, to take care that the rates upon exportation may be as light as possible; and upon importation, as heavy as trade will bear: a proof that the nature of commerce began now to be understood. Journ. 1st June, 1641.

[b] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 208.

larly issued from the crown. Nor could the Parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days. By this bill, some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown were retrenched; but at the same time nothing could be more necessary than such a statute for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. A great reluctance to assemble Parliaments, must be expected in the king; where these assemblies, as of late, established it as a maxim to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. During long intermissions of Parliament, grievances and abuses, as was found by recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become necessary for the king and council to exert a great discretionary authority, and by acts of state to supply, in every emergence, the legislative power, whose meeting was so uncertain and precarious. Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his Parliament and people, at last gave his assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation in the constitution [c]. Solemn thanks were presented him by both Houses: great rejoicings were expressed both in the city and throughout the nation: and mighty professions were every where made of gratitude and mutual returns of supply and confidence. This concession of the king, it must be owned, was not entirely voluntary: it was of a nature too important to be voluntary. The sole inference which his partisans were entitled to draw from the submissions so frankly made to present necessity, was, that he had certainly adopted a new plan of government, and for the future was resolved, by every indulgence, to acquire the confidence and affections of his people.

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Charles thought, that what concessions were made to the public were of little consequence, if no gratifications were bestowed on individuals, who had acquired the direction of public counsels and determinations. A change of ministers as well as of measures was therefore resolved on. In one day several new privy counsellors were sworn, the Earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol; the Lords Say, Saville, Kimbolton: within a few days after was ad-

[c] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 209. Whitlocke, p. 39. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 189.

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mitted the Earl of Warwick [d]. All these noblemen were of the popular party, and some of them afterwards, when matters were pushed to extremities by the Commons, proved the greatest support of monarchy.

Juxon, Bishop of London, who had never desired the treasurer's staff, now earnestly solicited for leave to resign it, and retire to the care of that turbulent diocese committed to him. The king gave his consent; and it is remarkable that during all the severe inquiries carried on against the conduct of ministers and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who bore both these invidious characters, remained unmolested [e]. It was intended that Bedford, a popular man of great authority as well as wisdom and moderation, should succeed Juxon: but that nobleman, unfortunately both for king and people, died about this very time. By some promotions, place was made for St. John, who was created solicitor-general. Hollis was to be made secretary of state, in the room of Windebank, who had fled; Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Lord Cottington, who had resigned; Lord Say, master of the wards, in the room of the same nobleman; the Earl of Essex, governor; and Hambden, tutor to the prince [f].

What retarded the execution of these projected changes was the difficulty of satisfying all those who, from their activity and authority in Parliament, had pretensions for offices, and who still had it in their power to embarrass and distress the public measures. Their associates too in popularity, whom the king intended to distinguish by his favour, were unwilling to undergo the reproach of having driven a separate bargain, and of sacrificing to their own ambitious views the cause of the nation. And as they were sensible, that they must owe their preferment entirely to their weight and consideration in Parliament, they were most of them resolved still to adhere to that assembly, and both to promote its authority, and to preserve their own credit in it. On all occasions, they had no other advice to give the king, than to allow himself to be directed by his great council; or, in other words, to resign himself passively to their guidance and government.

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 195. [e] Warwick, p. 95.
[f] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 210, 211.

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And Charles found that, instead of acquiring friends by the honours and offices which he should bestow, he should only arm his enemies with more power to hurt him.

The end on which the king was most intent in changing ministers was, to save the life of the Earl of Strafford, and to mollify, by these indulgences, the rage of his most furious prosecutors. But so high was that nobleman's reputation for experience and capacity, that all the new counsellors and intended ministers plainly saw, that if he escaped their vengeance, he must return into favour and authority; and they regarded his death as the only security which they could have, both for the establishment of their present power, and for success in their future enterprises. His impeachment, therefore, was pushed on with the utmost vigour; and after long and solemn preparations was brought to a final issue.

Strafford's trial.

Immediately after Strafford was sequestered from Parliament, and confined in the Tower, a committee of thirteen was chosen by the Lower House, and entrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. These, joined to a small committee of Lords, were vested with authority to examine all witnesses, to call for every paper, and to use any means of scrutiny, with regard to any part of the earl's behaviour and conduct [g]. After so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies, a man must have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his life, some matter of accusation against him.

This committee, by direction from both Houses, took an oath of secrecy; a practice very unusual, and which gave them the appearance of conspirators, more than ministers of justice [h]. But the intention of this strictness, was to render it more difficult for the earl to elude their search, or prepare for his justification.

Application was made to the king, that he would allow this committee to examine privy counsellors with regard to opinions delivered at the board: a concession which Charles unwarily made, and which thenceforth banished all mutual confidence from the deliberations of council: where every man is supposed to have entire freedom without fear of future punishment or inquiry, of proposing

g Clarendon, vol. i. p. 192.

h Whitlocke, p. 37.

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any expedient, questioning any opinion, or supporting any argument [i].

Sir George Ratcliffe, the earl's intimate friend and confidant, was accused of high treason, sent for from Ireland, and committed to close custody. As no charge ever appeared, or was prosecuted against him, it is impossible to give a more charitable interpretation to this measure, than that the Commons thereby intended to deprive Strafford, in his present distress, of the assistance of his best friend, who was most enabled, by his testimony, to justify the innocence of his patron's conduct and behaviour [k].

When intelligence arrived in Ireland of the plans laid for Strafford's ruin, the Irish House of Commons, though they had very lately bestowed ample praises on his administration, entered into all the violent counsels against him, and prepared a representation of the miserable state into which, by his misconduct, they supposed the kingdom to be fallen. They sent over a committee to London, to assist in the prosecution of their unfortunate governor: and by intimations from this committee, who entered into close confederacy with the popular leaders in England, was every measure of the Irish Parliament governed and directed. Impeachments, which were never prosecuted, were carried up against Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor, Sir Gerard Louther, chief justice, and Bramhall, Bishop of Derry [l]. This step, which was an exact counterpart to the proceedings in England, served also the same purposes: it deprived the king of the ministers whom he most trusted; it discouraged and terrified all the other ministers; and it prevented those persons who were best acquainted with Strafford's counsels from giving evidence in his favour before the English Parliament.

The bishops being forbidden by the ancient canons to assist in trials for life, and being unwilling, by any opposition, to irritate the Commons, who were already much prejudiced against them, thought proper, of themselves, to withdraw [m]. The Commons also voted that the new created peers ought to have no voice in this trial; because the accusation being agreed to while they were com-

[i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 193.
[k] Idem, vol. i. p. 214.
[l] Rushworth, vol. i. p. 214.
[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 216.

moners, their consent to it was implied with that of all the Commons of England. Notwithstanding this decision, which was meant only to deprive Strafford of so many friends, Lord Seymour, and some others, still continued to keep their seat; nor was their right to it any farther questioned[n]. CHAP. LIV. 1640.

To bestow the greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall; where both Houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial[o].

An accusation carried on by the united effort of three kingdoms against one man, unprotected by power, unassisted by counsel, discountenanced by authority, was likely to prove a very unequal contest: yet such were the capacity, genius, presence of mind, displayed by this magnanimous statesman, that while argument, and reason, and law, had any place, he obtained an undisputed victory. And he perished at last, overwhelmed and still unsubdued, by the open violence of his fierce and unrelenting antagonists.

The articles of impeachment against Strafford are twenty-eight in number: and regard his conduct, as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as counsellor or commander in England. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, and all Strafford's answers were extemporary, it appears from comparison, not only that he was free from the crime of treason, of which there is not the least appearance, but that his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, exposed to such severe scrutiny, was innocent, and even laudable. 1641. March 22.

The powers of the northern council, while he was president, had been extended by the king's instructions beyond what formerly had been practised: but that court being at first instituted by a stretch of royal prerogative, it had been usual for the prince to vary his instructions; and the largest authority committed to it was altogether as legal as the most moderate and most limited. Nor

[n] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 216.
[o] Whitlocke, p. 40. Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 41. May, p. 90.

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was it reasonable to conclude that Strafford had used any art to procure those extensive powers; since he never once sat as president, or exercised one act of jurisdiction, after he was invested with the authority so much complained of[p].

In the government of Ireland, his administration had been equally promotive of his master's interest, and that of the subjects committed to his care. A large debt he had paid off: he had left a considerable sum in the exchequer; the revenue, which never before answered the charges of government, was now raised to be equal to them[q]; a small standing army, formerly kept in no order, was augmented, and was governed by exact discipline; and a great force was there raised and paid, for the support of the king's authority against the Scottish covenanters.

Industry, and all the arts of peace, were introduced among that rude people; the shipping of the kingdom augmented a hundred-fold[r]; the customs tripled upon the same rates[s]; the exports double in value to the imports; manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted[t]: agriculture, by means of the English and Scottish plantations, gradually advancing; the Protestant religion encouraged, without the persecution or discontent of the Catholics.

The springs of authority he had enforced without overstraining them. Discretionary acts of jurisdiction, indeed, he had often exerted, by holding courts-martial, billeting soldiers, deciding causes upon paper-petitions before the council, issuing proclamations, and punishing their infraction. But discretionary authority, during that age, was usually exercised even in England. In Ireland, it was still more requisite, among a rude people, not yet thoroughly subdued, averse to the religion and manners of their conquerors, ready on all occasions to relapse into rebellion and disorder. While the managers of the Commons demanded, every moment, that the deputy's conduct should be examined by the line of rigid law and severe principles, he appealed still to the practice of all former

[p] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 145. [q] Ibid. p. 120. 247. Warwick, p. 115.
[r] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 45. [s] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 124. [t] Warwick, p. 115.

deputies, and to the uncontrollable necessity of his situation. CHAP. LIV. 1641.

So great was his art of managing elections and balancing parties, that he had engaged the Irish Parliament to vote whatever was necessary, both for the payment of former debts, and for support of the new-levied army; nor had he ever been reduced to the illegal expedients practised in England, for the supply of public necessities. No imputation of rapacity could justly lie against his administration. Some instances of imperious expressions, and even actions, may be met with. The case of Lord Mountnorris, of all those which were collected with so much industry, is the most flagrant and the least excusable.

It had been reported at the table of Lord Chancellor Loftus, that Annesley, one of the deputy's attendants, in moving a stool, had sorely hurt his master's foot, who was at that time afflicted with the gout. *Perhaps*, said Mountnorris, who was present at table, *it was done in revenge of that public affront, which my lord deputy formerly put upon him:* BUT HE HAS A BROTHER WHO WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN SUCH A REVENGE. This casual, and seemingly innocent, at least ambiguous, expression, was reported to Strafford, who, on pretence that such a suggestion might prompt Annesley to avenge himself in another manner, ordered Mountnorris, who was an officer, to be tried by a court-martial for mutiny and sedition against his general. The court, which consisted of the chief officers of the army, found the crime to be capital, and condemned that nobleman to lose his head[u].

In vain did Strafford plead, in his own defence, against this article of impeachment, that the sentence of Mountnorris was the deed, and that too unanimous, of the court, not the act of the deputy; that he spake not to a member of the court, nor voted in the cause, but sat uncovered as a party, and then immediately withdrew, to leave them to their freedom; that, sensible of the iniquity of the sentence, he procured his majesty's free pardon to Mountnorris; and that he did not even keep that nobleman a moment in suspense with regard to his fate, but instantly told him, that he himself would sooner lose his right

[u] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 187.

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hand than execute such a sentence, nor was his lordship's life in any danger. In vain did Strafford's friends add, as a further apology, that Mountnorris was a man of an infamous character, who paid court, by the lowest adulation, to all deputies while present; and blackened their character, by the vilest calumnies, when recalled: and that Strafford, expecting like treatment, had used this expedient for no other purpose than to subdue the petulant spirit of the man. These excuses alleviate the guilt; but there still remains enough to prove, that the mind of the deputy, though great and firm, had been not a little debauched by the riot of absolute power and uncontrolled authority.

When Strafford was called over to England, he found every thing fallen into such confusion, by the open rebellion of the Scots, and the secret discontents of the English, that, if he had counselled or executed any violent measure, he might perhaps have been able to apologize for his conduct, from the great law of necessity, which admits not, while the necessity is extreme, of any scruple, ceremony, or delay [w]. But, in fact, no illegal advice or action was proved against him; and the whole amount of his guilt, during this period, was some peevish, or, at most, imperious expressions, which, amidst such desperate extremities, and during a bad state of health, had unhappily fallen from him.

If Strafford's apology was, in the main, so satisfactory when he pleaded to each particular article of the charge, his victory was still more decisive when he brought the whole together and repelled the imputation of treason; the crime which the Commons would infer from the full view of his conduct and behaviour. Of all species of guilt, the law of England had, with the most scrupulous exactness, defined that of treason; because on that side it was found most necessary to protect the subject against the violence of the king and of his ministers. In the famous statute of Edward III. all the kinds of treason are enumerated, and every other crime, besides such as are there expressly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that appellation. But with regard to this guilt, *an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws*, the statute of

[w] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 559.

treasons is totally silent; and arbitrarily to introduce it into the fatal catalogue is itself a subversion of all law; and, under colour of defending liberty, reverses a statute the best calculated for the security of liberty that had ever been enacted by an English Parliament.

As this species of treason, discovered by the Commons, is entirely new and unknown to the laws, so is the species of proof by which they pretend to fix that guilt upon the prisoner. They have invented a kind of *accumulative*, or *constructive* evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in a much inferior degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law. A hasty and unguarded word, a rash and passionate action, assisted by the malevolent fancy of the accuser, and tortured by doubtful constructions, is transmuted into the deepest guilt; and the lives and fortunes of the whole nation, no longer protected by justice, are subjected to arbitrary will and pleasure.

"Where has this species of guilt lain so long concealed?" said Strafford in conclusion: "where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear till it burst out at once, to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and, by the maxim of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves, the best we can, to the arbitrary will of a master, than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of till the very moment of the prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages: but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? where the token by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were defined; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent upon this crime, before

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myself. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourselves at home; we have lived gloriously abroad to the world: let us be content with what our fathers have left us; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence, for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain for so many ages, by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions, add not this, my lords, the most severe of any; that I for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country.

"However, these gentlemen at the bar say they speak for the commonwealth, and they believe so; yet, under favour, it is I who, in this particular, speak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like those which are endeavoured to be established against me, must draw along such inconveniences and miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV., and no man shall know by what rule to govern his words and actions.

"Impose not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable. The public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; and no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils.

"My lords, I have now troubled your lordships a great deal longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven

left me, I should be loth"—Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping stopped him—"What I forfeit for myself, it is nothing: but I confess, that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity: something I should have said; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I shall leave it.

"And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit, clearly and freely, to your judgments: and whether that righteous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence[x]."

Certainly, says Whitlocke[y], with his usual candour, *never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity.* It is remarkable, that the historian, who expresses himself in these terms, was himself chairman of that committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate statesman. The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days. The managers divided the several articles among them, and attacked the prisoner with all the weight of authority, with all the vehemence of rhetoric, with all the accuracy of long preparation. Strafford was obliged to speak with deference and reserve towards his most inveterate enemies, the Commons, the Scottish nation, and the Irish Parliament. He took only a very short time, on each article, to recollect himself: yet he alone, without assistance, mixing modesty and humility with firmness and vigour, made such a defence, that the Commons saw it impossible, by a legal prosecution, ever to obtain a sentence against him.

But the death of Strafford was too important a stroke of party to be left unattempted by any expedient, how-

[x] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 659, &c.

[y] Page 41.

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ever extraordinary. Besides the great genius and authority of that minister, he had threatened some of the popular leaders with an impeachment; and had he not, himself, been suddenly prevented by the impeachment of the Commons, he had, that very day, it was thought, charged Pym, Hambden, and others, with treason, for having invited the Scots to invade England. A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the Lower House immediately after finishing these pleadings: and preparatory to it, a new proof of the earl's guilt was produced, in order to remove such scruples as might be entertained with regard to a method of proceeding so unusual and irregular.

Sir Henry Vane, secretary, had taken some notes of a debate in council after the dissolution of the last Parliament; and being at a distance, he had sent the keys of his cabinet, as was pretended, to his son, Sir Henry, in order to search for some papers, which were necessary for completing a marriage settlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmost importance: and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the House of Commons. The question before the council was, *offensive or defensive war with the Scots.* The king proposes this difficulty, "But how can I undertake offensive war, if I have no more money?" The answer ascribed to Strafford was in these words: "Borrow of the city a hundred thousand pounds: go on vigorously to levy ship-money. Your majesty having tried the affections of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rules of government, and may do what power will admit. Your majesty, having tried all ways, shall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce THIS kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." There followed some counsels of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the king's bein absolved from all rules of government[z].

This paper, with all the circumstances of its discovery and communication, was pretended to be equivalent to two witnesses, and to be an unanswerable proof of those

[z] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 223. 229, 230, &c. Whitlocke, p. 41. May, p. 93.

pernicious counsels of Strafford, which tended to the subversion of the laws and constitution. It was replied by Strafford and his friends, that old Vane was his most inveterate and declared enemy; and if the secretary himself, as was by far most probable, had willingly delivered to his son this paper of notes, to be communicated to Pym, this implied such a breach of oaths and of trust as rendered him totally unworthy of all credit: that the secretary's deposition was at first exceedingly dubious: upon two examinations, he could not remember any such words; even the third time, his testimony was not positive, but imported only that Strafford had spoken such or such-like words: and words may be very like in sound, and differ much in sense; nor ought the lives of men to depend upon grammatical criticisms of any expressions, much less of those which had been delivered by the speaker without premeditation, and committed by the hearer for any time, however short, to the uncertain record of memory. That in the present case, changing *this kingdom* into *that kingdom*, a very slight alteration! the earl's discourse could regard nothing but Scotland, and implies no advice unworthy of an English counsellor. That even retaining the expression, *this kingdom*, the words may fairly be understood of Scotland, which alone was the kingdom that the debate regarded, and which alone had thrown off allegiance, and could be reduced to obedience. That it could be proved, as well by the evidence of all the king's ministers, as by the known disposition of the forces, that the intention never was to land the Irish army in England but in Scotland. That of six other counsellors present, Laud and Windebank could give no evidence; Northumberland, Hamilton, Cottington, and Juxon, could recollect no such expression; and the advice was too remarkable to be easily forgotten. That it was no wise probable such a desperate counsel would be openly delivered at the board, and before Northumberland, a person of that high rank, and whose attachments to the court were so much weaker than his connexions with the country. That though Northumberland, and he alone, had recollected some such expression as that *of being absolved from rules of government*, yet in such desperate extremities as those into

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which the king and kingdom were then fallen, a maxim of that nature, allowing it to be delivered by Strafford, may be defended upon principles the most favourable to law and liberty. And that nothing could be more iniquitous, than to extract an accusation of treason from an opinion simply proposed at the council-table, where all freedom of debate ought to be permitted, and where it was not unusual for the members, in order to draw forth the sentiments of others, to propose counsels very remote from their own secret advice and judgment[a].

Bill of attainder.

The evidence of Secretary Vane, though exposed to such insurmountable objections, was the real cause of Strafford's unhappy fate; and made the bill of attainder pass the Commons with no greater opposition than that of fifty-nine dissenting votes. But there remained two other branches of the legislature, the King and the Lords, whose assent was requisite; and these, if left to their free judgment, it was easily foreseen, would reject the bill without scruple or deliberation. To overcome this difficulty, the popular leaders employed expedients, for which they were beholden partly to their own industry, partly to the indiscretion of their adversaries.

Next Sunday after the bill passed the Commons, the puritanical pulpits resounded with declamations concerning the necessity of executing justice upon great delinquents[b]. The populace took the alarm. About six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the Houses of Parliament[c]. The names of the fifty-nine Commoners who had voted against the bill of attainder were posted up under the title of *Straffordians, and betrayers of their country.* These were exposed to all the insults of the ungovernable multitude. When any of the Lords passed, the cry for *justice* against Strafford resounded in their ears; and such as were suspected of friendship to that obnoxious minister were sure to meet with menaces not unaccompanied with symptoms of the most desperate resolutions in the furious populace[d].

Complaints in the House of Commons being made against these violences, as the most flagrant breach of

[a] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 560. [b] Whitlocke, p. 43. [c] Idem, ibid.
[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 232. 256. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 248. 1279.

privilege, the ruling members, by their affected coolness and indifference, showed plainly that the popular tumults were not disagreeable to them[e]. But a new discovery, made about this time, served to throw every thing into still greater flame and combustion.

Some principal officers, Piercy, Jermyn, O'Neale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, Ashburnham, partly attached to the court, partly disgusted with the Parliament, had formed a plan of engaging into the king's service the English army, whom they observed to be displeased at some marks of preference given by the Commons to the Scots. For this purpose, they entered into an association, took an oath of secrecy, and kept a close correspondence with some of the king's servants. The form of a petition to the king and Parliament was concerted; and it was intended to get this petition subscribed by the army. The petitioners there represent the great and unexampled concessions made by the king for the security of public peace and liberty; the endless demands of certain insatiable and turbulent spirits, whom nothing less will content than a total subversion of the ancient constitution; the frequent tumults which these factious malecontents had excited, and which endangered the liberty of Parliament. To prevent these mischiefs, the army offered to come up and guard that assembly. "So shall the nation," as they express themselves in the conclusion, "not only be vindicated from preceding innovations, but be secured from the future, which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former[f]." The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on somewhat imprudently to countersign it himself, as a mark of his approbation. But as several difficulties occurred, the project was laid aside two months before any public discovery was made of it.

It was Goring who betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. The alarm may easily be imagined which this intelligence conveyed. Petitions from the military to the civil power are always looked on as disguised, or rather undisguised commands; and are of a nature widely different from petitions presented by any other rank of men.

e Whitlocke, ut supra.

f Clarendon, vol. i. p. 247. Whitlocke, p. 43.

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Pym opened the matter in the House [g]. On the first intimation of a discovery, Piercy concealed himself, and Jermyn withdrew beyond sea. This farther confirmed the suspicion of a dangerous conspiracy. Goring delivered his evidence before the House: Piercy wrote a letter to his brother Northumberland, confessing most of the particulars [h]. Both their testimonies agree with regard to the oath of secrecy; and as this circumstance had been denied by Pollard, Ashburnham, and Wilmot, in all their examinations, it was regarded as a new proof of some desperate resolutions which had been taken.

To convey more quickly the terror and indignation at this plot, the Commons voted that a protestation should be signed by all the members. It was sent up to the Lords, and signed by all of them, except Southampton and Robarts. Orders were given by the Commons alone, without other authority, that it should be subscribed by the whole nation. The protestation was in itself very inoffensive, even insignificant, and contained nothing but general declarations, that the subscribers would defend their religion and liberties [i]; but it tended to increase the popular panic, and intimated, what was more expressly declared in the preamble, that these blessings were now exposed to the utmost peril.

Alarms were every day given of new conspiracies [k]: in Lancashire, great multitudes of Papists were assembling: secret meetings were held by them in caves and underground, in Surrey: they had entered into a plot to blow up the river with gunpowder, in order to drown the city [l]: provisions of arms were making beyond sea: sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom; and the populace, who are always terrified with present, and enraged with distant dangers, were still farther animated in their demands of justice against the unfortunate Strafford.

The king came to the House of Lords; and though he expressed his resolution, for which he offered them any security, never again to employ Strafford in any branch of public business, he professed himself totally dissatisfied

[g] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 240. [h] Idem, ibid. p. 255.
[i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 252. Rushw. vol. v. p. 241. Warwick, p. 180.
[k] Dugdal. p. 69. Franklyn, p. 901. [l] Sir Edward Walker, p. 349.

with regard to the circumstance of treason, and on that account declared his difficulty in giving his assent to the bill of attainder [m]. The Commons took fire, and voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the Houses. Charles did not perceive that his attachment to Strafford was the chief motive for the bill; and that the greater proofs he gave of anxious concern for this minister, the more inevitable did he render his destruction.

About eighty peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such apprehensions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only forty-five were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the House: yet, of these, nineteen had the courage to vote against it [n]; a certain proof that if entire freedom had been allowed, the bill had been rejected by a great majority.

In carrying up the bill to the Lords, St. John, the solicitor-general, advanced two topics, well suited to the fury of the times; that though the testimony against Strafford were not clear, yet, in this way of bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, even should no evidence at all be produced; and that the earl had no title to plead law, because he had broken the law. It is true, added he, we give law to hares and deer; for they are beasts of chase. But it was never accounted either cruel or unfair to destroy foxes or wolves wherever they can be found, for they are beasts of prey [o].

After popular violence had prevailed over the Lords, the same battery was next applied to force the king's assent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with the loudest clamours and most open menaces. Rumours of conspiracies against the Parliament were anew spread abroad; invasions and insurrections talked of; and the whole nation was raised into such a ferment as threatened some great and imminent convulsion. On whichever side the king cast his eyes, he saw no resource or security. All his servants, consulting their own safety, rather than their master's honour, declined interposing with their advice between him and his Parliament. The queen, terrified with the appearance of

[m] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 239. [n] Whitlocke, p. 43.
[o] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 232.

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so mighty a danger, and bearing formerly no good-will to Strafford, was in tears, and pressed him to satisfy his people in this demand, which, it was hoped, would finally content them. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, if in his conscience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it [p].

Strafford, hearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step: he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting them the request for which they were so importunate [q]. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, sir, to you I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours." Perhaps Strafford hoped that this unusual instance of generosity would engage the king still more strenuously to protect him; perhaps he gave his life for lost; and finding himself in the hands of his enemies, and observing that Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, was devoted to the popular party [r], he absolutely despaired of ever escaping the multiplied dangers with which he was every way environed. We might ascribe this step to a noble effort of disinterestedness, not unworthy the great mind of Strafford, if the measure which he advised had not been, in the event, as pernicious to his master as it was immediately fatal to himself [s].

After the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill; flattering himself, probably, in this extremity of distress, that as neither his will consented to the deed, nor was his hand immediately engaged in it, he was the more free from all the guilt which attended it. These commissioners he empowered,

[p] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 257. Warwick, p. 160.
[q] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 258. Rushw. vol. v. p. 251.
[r] Whitlocke, p. 44. Franklyn, p. 896.
[s] See note [A], at the end of the volume.

at the same time, to give his assent to the bill which rendered the Parliament perpetual.

The Commons, from policy, rather than necessity, had embraced the expedient of paying the two armies by borrowing money from the city; and these loans they had repaid afterwards by taxes levied upon the people. The citizens, either of themselves or by suggestion, began to start difficulties with regard to a farther loan that was demanded. We make no scruple of trusting the Parliament, said they, were we certain that the Parliament were to continue till our repayment. But in the present precarious situation of affairs, what security can be given us for our money? In pretence of obviating this objection, a bill was suddenly brought into the House, and passed with great unanimity and rapidity, that the Parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own consent. It was hurried in like manner through the House of Peers, and was instantly carried to the king for his assent. Charles, in the agony of grief, shame, and remorse, for Strafford's doom, perceived not that this other bill was of still more fatal consequence to his authority, and rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrollable[t]. In comparison of the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in his friend's murder, this concession made no figure in his eyes[u]: a circumstance which, if it lessen our idea of his resolution or penetration, serves to prove the integrity of his heart, and the goodness of his disposition. It is indeed certain, that strong compunction for his consent to Strafford's execution attended this unfortunate prince during the remainder of his life: and even at his own fatal end, the memory of this guilt, with great sorrow and remorse, recurred upon him. All men were so sensible of the extreme violence which was done him, that he suffered the less both in character and interest from this unhappy measure; and though he abandoned his best friend, yet was he still able to preserve, in some degree, the attachment of all his adherents.

Secretary Carleton was sent by the king to inform

[t] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 261, 262. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 264.
[u] See note [B], at the end of the volume.

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Strafford of the final resolution which necessity had extorted from him. The earl seemed surprised, and starting up, exclaimed, in the words of scripture, *Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation*[w]. He was soon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared himself to suffer the fatal sentence. Only three days' interval was allowed him. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young prince, a letter addressed to the Peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the Commons about a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, was refused in both requests[x].

Execution of Strafford.

Strafford, in passing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship; and entreated the assistance of his prayers, in those awful moments which were approaching: the aged primate dissolved in tears; and having pronounced, with a broken voice, a tender blessing on his departing friend, sunk into the arms of his attendants[y]. Strafford, still superior to his fate, moved on with an elated countenance, and with an air even of greater dignity than what usually attended him. He wanted that consolation which commonly supports those who perish by the stroke of injustice and oppression: he was not buoyed up by glory, nor by the affectionate compassion of the spectators. Yet his mind, erect and undaunted, found resources within itself, and maintained its unbroken resolution, amidst the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his misguided enemies. His discourse on the scaffold was full of decency and courage. "He feared," he said, "that the omen was bad for the intended reformation of the state, that it commenced with the shedding of innocent blood." Having bid a last adieu to his brother and friends who attended him, and having sent a blessing to his nearer relations who were absent; "And now," said he, "I have nigh done! One stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends! But let God be to you and them all in all!" Going to dis-

[w] Whitlocke, p. 44. [x] Rushw. vol. v. p. 265. [y] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 198.

robe, and prepare himself for the block, "I thank God," said he, "that I am nowise afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!" With one blow was a period put to his life by the executioner[z]. CHAP. LIV. 1641.

Thus perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the Earl of Strafford, one of the most eminent personages that has appeared in England. Though his death was loudly demanded as a satisfaction to justice, and an atonement for the many violations of the constitution, it may safely be affirmed, that the sentence by which he fell was an enormity greater than the worst of those which his implacable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry. The people in their rage had totally mistaken the proper object of their resentment. All the necessities, or more properly speaking, the difficulties, by which the king had been induced to use violent expedients for raising supply, were the result of measures previous to Strafford's favour; and if they arose from ill conduct, he, at least, was entirely innocent. Even those violent expedients themselves, which occasioned the complaint that the constitution was subverted, had been, all of them, conducted, so far as appeared, without his counsel or assistance. And whatever his private advice might be[a], this salutary maxim he failed not, often and publicly, to inculcate in the king's presence, that if any inevitable necessity ever obliged the sovereign to violate the laws, this licence ought to be practised with extreme reserve, and, as soon as possible, a just atonement be made to the constitution, for any injury which it might sustain from such dangerous precedents[b]. The first Parliament after the restoration reversed the bill of attainder; and even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very Parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence, as if conscious of the violence with which the prosecution had been conducted.

In vain did Charles expect, as a return for so many instances of unbounded compliance, that the Parliament

[z] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 267.

[a] That Strafford was secretly no enemy to arbitrary counsels, appears from some of his letters and despatches, particularly vol. ii. p. 60, where he seems to wish that a standing army were established.

[b] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 567, 568, 569, 570.

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would at last show him some indulgence, and would cordially fall into that unanimity, to which, at the expense of his own power, and of his friend's life, he so earnestly courted them. All his concessions were poisoned by their suspicion of his want of cordiality; and the supposed attempt to engage the army against them served with many as a confirmation of this jealousy. It was natural for the king to seek some resource, while all the world seemed to desert him, or combine against him; and this probably was the utmost of that embryo scheme which was formed with regard to the army. But the popular leaders still insisted, that a desperate plot was laid to bring up the forces immediately, and offer violence to the Parliament: a design of which Piercy's evidence acquits the king, and which the near neighbourhood of the Scottish army seems to render absolutely impracticable [c]. By means, however, of these suspicions, was the same implacable spirit still kept alive; and the Commons, without giving the king any satisfaction in the settlement of his revenue, proceeded to carry their inroads with great vigour into his now defenceless prerogative [d].

High commission and star-chamber abolished.

The two ruling passions of this Parliament were zeal for liberty, and an aversion to the church; and to both of these nothing could appear more exceptionable than the court of high commission, whose institution rendered it entirely arbitrary, and assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. The star-chamber also was a court which exerted high discretionary powers; and had no precise rule or limit, either with regard to the causes which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions which it formed. A bill unanimously passed the Houses to abolish these two courts; and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged [e].

[c] The project of bringing up the army to London, according to Piercy, was proposed to the king; but he rejected it as foolish: because the Scots, who were in arms, and lying in their neighbourhood, must be at London as soon as the English army. This reason is so solid and convincing, that it leaves no room to doubt of the veracity of Piercy's evidence; and consequently acquits the king of this terrible plot of bringing up the army, which made such a noise at the time, and was a pretence for so many violences.

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 266.

[e] Idem, ibid. p. 283, 284. Whitlocke, p. 47. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1383, 1384.

Charles hesitated before he gave his assent. But finding that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he possessed no resource in case of a rupture, he at last affixed the royal sanction to this excellent bill. But to show the Parliament that he was sufficiently apprized of the importance of his grant, he observed to them, that this statute altered in a great measure the fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of his predecessors had established [f].

By removing the star-chamber, the king's power of binding the people by his proclamations was indirectly abolished; and that important branch of prerogative, the strong symbol of arbitrary power, and unintelligible in a limited constitution, being at last removed, left the system of government more consistent and uniform. The star-chamber alone was accustomed to punish infractions of the king's edicts: but as no courts of judicature now remained, except those in Westminster-hall, which take cognizance only of common and statute law, the king may thenceforth issue proclamations, but no man is bound to obey them. It must, however, be confessed, that the experiment here made by the Parliament was not a little rash and adventurous. No government at that time appeared in the world, nor is perhaps to be found in the records of any history, which subsisted without the mixture of some arbitrary authority, committed to some magistrate; and it might, reasonably, beforehand, appear doubtful, whether human society could ever reach that state of perfection as to support itself with no other control than the general and rigid maxims of law and equity. But the Parliament justly thought, that the king was too eminent a magistrate to be trusted with discretionary power, which he might so easily turn to the destruction of liberty. And in the event it has hitherto been found, that though some sensible inconveniences arise from the maxim of adhering strictly to law, yet the advantages overbalance them, and should render the English grateful to the memory of their ancestors, who, after repeated contests, at last established that noble though dangerous principle.

At the request of the Parliament, Charles, instead of

[f] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 307.

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the patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour[g]: a circumstance of the greatest moment towards securing their independency, and barring the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of judicature.

The marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was not thought sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished[h]. The stannary courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the miners, being liable to a like objection, underwent a like fate. The abolition of the council of the North and the council of Wales followed from the same principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general inspection over the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates.

In short, if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable Parliament, during the first period of its operations, we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweigh their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty. Not only were former abuses remedied, and grievances redressed: great provision, for the future, was made by law against the return of like complaints. And if the means by which they obtained such advantages savour often of artifice, sometimes of violence, it is to be considered, that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning; and that factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitances.

The Parliament now came to a pause. The king had promised his Scottish subjects that he would this summer pay them a visit, in order to settle their government; and though the English Parliament was very importunate with him, that he should lay aside that journey, they could not prevail with him so much as to delay it. As he must necessarily in his journey have passed through the troops of both nations, the Commons seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, and to have

8th Aug. King's journey to Scotland.

[g] May, p. 107. [h] Nalson, vol. i. p. 778.

now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the disbanding of the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scots were fully paid them, and those of the English in part. The Scots returned home, and the English were separated into their several counties, and dismissed. CHAP. LIV. 1641.

After this the Parliament adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both Houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess with very ample powers[i]. Pym was elected chairman of the committee of the Lower House. Farther attempts were made by the Parliament, while it sat, and even by the Commons alone, for assuming sovereign executive powers, and publishing their ordinances, as they called them, instead of laws. The committee too, on their part, was ready to imitate the example. 9th Sept.

A small committee of both Houses was appointed to attend the king into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be spies upon him, and extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the majesty of the king. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Armyne, Fiennes, and Hambden, were the persons chosen[k].

Endeavours were used, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to pass laws without having recourse to the king. So little regard was now paid to royal authority, or to the established constitution of the kingdom.

Amidst the great variety of affairs which occurred during this busy period, we have almost overlooked the marriage of the Princess Mary with William, Prince of Orange. The king concluded not this alliance without communicating his intentions to the Parliament, who received the proposal with satisfaction[l]. This was the commencement of the connexions with the family of Orange: connexions which were afterwards attended with the most important consequences, both to the kingdom and to the house of Stuart.

[i] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 387.
[k] Ibid. p. 376.
[l] Whitlocke, p. 38.

CHAPTER LV.

Settlement of Scotland.—Conspiracy in Ireland.—Insurrection and Massacre.—Meeting of the English Parliament.—The Remonstrance.—Reasons on both Sides.—Impeachment of the Bishops.—Accusation of the Five Members.—Tumults.—King leaves London.—Arrives in York.—Preparations for Civil War.

CHAP. LV. 1641.

The Scots, who began these fatal commotions, thought that they had finished a very perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English Parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance[a]. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good subjects; and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. To carry farther their triumph over their sovereign, these terms, so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a vote of Parliament, to be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification[b]: all their claims for the restriction of prerogative were agreed to be ratified: and what they more valued than all these advantages, they had a near prospect of spreading the presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland, from the seeds which they had scattered of their religious principles. Never did refined Athens so exult in diffusing the sciences and liberal arts over a savage world; never did generous Rome so please herself in the view of law and order established by her victorious arms; as the Scots now rejoiced in communicating their barbarous zeal and theological fervour to the neighbouring nations.

14th Aug. Settlement of Scotland.

Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, and dreading still farther encroachments upon him, arrived in Scotland, with an intention of ab-

[a] Nalson, vol. i. p. 747. May, p. 104.
[b] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 365. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 293.

dicating almost entirely the small share of power which *there* remained to him, and of giving full satisfaction, if possible, to his restless subjects in that kingdom. CHAP. LV. 1641.

The lords of articles were an ancient institution in the Scottish Parliament. They were constituted after this manner. The temporal lords chose eight bishops: the bishops elected eight temporal lords: these sixteen named eight commissioners of counties, and eight burgesses: and without the previous consent of the thirty-two who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in Parliament. As the bishops were entirely devoted to the court, it is evident that all the lords of articles, by necessary consequence, depended on the king's nomination; and the prince, besides one negative after the bills had passed through Parliament, possessed indirectly another before their introduction; a prerogative of much greater consequence than the former. The bench of bishops being now abolished, the Parliament laid hold of the opportunity, and totally set aside the lords of articles: and, till this important point was obtained, the nation, properly speaking, could not be said to enjoy any regular freedom [c].

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this institution, to which there was no parallel in England, the royal authority was always deemed much lower in Scotland than in the former kingdom. Bacon represents it as one advantage to be expected from the union, that the too extensive prerogative of England would be abridged by the example of Scotland, and the too narrow prerogative of Scotland be enlarged from the imitation of England. The English were, at that time, a civilized people, and obedient to the laws: but among the Scots, it was of little consequence how the laws were framed, or by whom voted, while the exorbitant aristocracy had it so much in their power to prevent their regular execution.

The Peers and Commons formed only one House in the Scottish Parliament; and as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace English gentlemen with Scottish titles, all the determinations of Parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of these votes of foreigners,

[c] Burnet, Mem.

CHAP. LV. 1641.

who had no interest or property in the nation. It was therefore a law deserving approbation, that no man should be created a Scotch peer, who possessed not ten thousand marks (above five hundred pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom [d].

A law for triennial Parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every Parliament should be to appoint the time and place for holding the Parliament next ensuing [e].

The king was deprived of that power formerly exercised, of issuing proclamations, which enjoined obedience under the penalty of treason: a prerogative which invested him with the whole legislative authority, even in matters of the highest importance [f].

So far was laudable: but the most fatal blow given to royal authority, and what in a manner dethroned the prince, was the article, that no member of the privy council, in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration lay, no officer of state, none of the judges, should be appointed, but by advice and approbation of Parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their seats four judges who had adhered to his interests; and their place was supplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party: several of the covenanters were also sworn of the privy council: and all the ministers of state, counsellors, and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life or good behaviour [g].

The king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church; and assisted with great gravity at the long prayers and longer sermons with which the presbyterians endeavoured to regale him. He bestowed pensions and preferments on Henderson, Gillespy, and other popular preachers; and practised every art to soften, if not to gain, his greatest enemies. The Earl of Argyle was created a marquis, Lord Loudon an earl, Lesley was dignified with the title of Earl of Leven [h]. His friends he was obliged, for the present, to neglect and overlook: some of them were disgusted; and his enemies were not reconciled, but ascribed all his caresses and favours to artifice and necessity.

[d] Burnet, Mem. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] Idem, ibid.
[g] Idem, ibid. [h] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 309.

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Argyle and Hamilton, being seized with an apprehension, real or pretended, that the Earl of Crawford and others meant to assassinate them, left the Parliament suddenly, and retired into the country; but, upon invitation and assurances, returned in a few days. This event, which had neither cause nor effect that was visible, nor purpose, nor consequence, was commonly denominated the *incident*. But though the incident had no effect in Scotland; what was not expected, it was attended with consequences in England. The English Parliament, 20th Oct. which was now assembled, being willing to awaken the people's tenderness by exciting their fears, immediately took the alarm; as if the malignants, so they called the king's party, had laid a plot at once to murder them, and all the godly in both kingdoms. They applied, therefore, to Essex, whom the king had left general in the south of England, and he ordered a guard to attend them [i].

But while the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himself to the same salutary work in that kingdom, he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion broken out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. On every side, this unfortunate prince was pursued with murmurs, discontent, faction, and civil wars; and the fire from all quarters, even by the most independent accidents, at once blazed up about him.

The great plan of James, in the administration of Ireland, continued by Charles, was, by justice and peace, to reconcile that turbulent people to the authority of laws, and, introducing art and industry among them, to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been subject. In order to serve both these purposes, and at the same time secure the dominion of Ireland to the English crown, great colonies of British had been carried over, and, being intermixed with the Irish, had every where introduced a new face of things into that country. During a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the nations seemed, in a great measure, to

[i] Whitlocke, p. 40. Dugdale. p. 72. Burnet's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 184, 185. Clarendon, p. 299.

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be obliterated; and though much of the landed property, forfeited by rebellion, had been conferred on the new planters, a more than equal return had been made by their instructing the natives in tillage, building, manufactures, and all the civilized arts of life[k]. This had been the course of things during the successive administrations of Chichester, Grandison, Falkland, and, above all, of Strafford. Under the government of this latter nobleman, the pacific plans, now come to greater maturity, and forwarded by his vigour and industry, seemed to have operated with full success, and to have bestowed, at last, on that savage country the face of an European settlement.

After Strafford fell a victim to popular rage, the humours excited in Ireland by that great event could not be suddenly composed, but continued to produce the greatest innovations in the government.

The British Protestants, transplanted into Ireland, having every moment before their eyes all the horrors of popery, had naturally been carried into the opposite extreme, and had universally adopted the highest principles and practices of the puritans. Monarchy, as well as the hierarchy, was become odious to them; and every method of limiting the authority of the crown, and detaching themselves from the King of England, was greedily adopted and pursued. They considered not, that as they scarcely formed the sixth part of the people, and were secretly obnoxious to the ancient inhabitants, their only method of supporting themselves was by maintaining royal authority, and preserving a great dependence on their mother country. The English Commons, likewise, in their furious prosecution of Strafford, had overlooked the most obvious consequences; and while they imputed to him as a crime, every discretionary act of authority, they despoiled all succeeding governors of that power, by which alone the Irish could be retained in subjection. And so strong was the current for popular government in all the three kingdoms, that the most established maxims of policy were every where abandoned, in order to gratify this ruling passion.

Charles, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield to

[k] Sir John Temple's Irish Rebellion, p. 12.

the Irish, as to the Scottish and English Parliaments; and found, too, that their encroachments still rose in proportion to his concessions. Those subsidies which themselves had voted, they reduced, by a subsequent vote, to a fourth part: the court of high commission was determined to be a grievance; martial law abolished; the jurisdiction of the council annihilated; proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority; every order or institution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and the prince was despoiled of all his prerogative, without the least pretext of any violence or illegality in his administration.

The standing army of Ireland was usually about three thousand men; but in order to assist the king in suppressing the Scottish covenanters, Strafford had raised eight thousand more; and had incorporated with them a thousand men, drawn from the old army; a necessary expedient for bestowing order and discipline on the new-levied soldiers. The private men in this army were all Catholics; but the officers, both commission and non-commission, were Protestants, and could entirely be depended on by Charles. The English Commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army; and never ceased soliciting the king, till he agreed to break it: nor would they consent to any proposal for augmenting the standing army to five thousand men; a number which the king deemed necessary for retaining Ireland in obedience.

Charles, thinking it dangerous that eight thousand men accustomed to idleness, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a nation so turbulent and unsettled, agreed with the Spanish ambassador to have them transported into Flanders, and enlisted in his master's service. The English Commons, pretending apprehensions, lest regular bodies of troops, disciplined in the Low Countries, should prove still more dangerous, showed some aversion to this expedient; and the king reduced his allowance to four thousand men. But when the Spaniards had hired ships for transporting these troops, and the men were ready to embark, the Commons, willing to show their power, and not displeased with an opportunity of curbing and affronting the king, prohibited every one from

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furnishing vessels for that service; and thus the project formed by Charles, of freeing the country from these men, was unfortunately disappointed [l].

The old Irish remarked all these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. Though their animosity against that nation, for want of an occasion to exert itself, seemed to be extinguished, it was only composed into a temporary and deceitful tranquillity [m]. Their interests both with regard to *property* and *religion*, secretly stimulated them to a revolt. No individual of any sept, according to the ancient customs, had the property of any particular estate; but as the whole sept had a title to a whole territory, they ignorantly preferred this barbarous community before the more secure and narrower possessions assigned them by the English. An indulgence, amounting almost to a toleration, had been given to the Catholic religion; but so long as the churches and the ecclesiastical revenues were kept from the priests, and they were obliged to endure the neighbourhood of profane heretics, being themselves discontented, they continually endeavoured to retard any cordial reconciliation between the English and the Irish nations.

Conspiracy in Ireland.

There was a gentleman called Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was descended from an ancient Irish family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country [n]. He secretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish. By conversation, by letters, by his emissaries, he represented to his countrymen the motives of a revolt. He observed to them, that by the rebellion of the Scots, and factions of the English, the king's authority in Britain was reduced to so low a condition, that he never could exert himself with any vigour in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland; that the Catholics in the Irish House of Commons, assisted by the Protest-

[l] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 281. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 381. Dugdale, p. 75. May, book 2. p. 3.

[m] Temple, p. 14.

[n] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 543.

ants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and the power of the lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting, to its desired effect, any conspiracy or combination which could be formed; that the Scots having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and assumed the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had so much greater oppressions to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them their possessions, suppressed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful in comparison of the natives; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the whole kingdom; that a great body of men, disciplined by the government, were now thrown loose, and were ready for any daring or desperate enterprise; that though the Catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in some tolerable measure, the exercise of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they must henceforth expect, that the government will be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical Parliament, having at length subdued their sovereign, would, no doubt, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, extend their ambitious enterprises to Ireland, and make the Catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution to which their brethren in England were at present exposed; and that a revolt in the Irish, tending only to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion; much less during the present confusions, when their prince was, in a manner, a prisoner, and obedience must be paid not to him, but to those who had traitorously usurped his lawful authority [o].

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By these considerations, More engaged all the heads of the native Irish into the conspiracy. The English of the pale, as they were called, or the Old English planters, being all Catholics, it was hoped, would afterwards join the party, which restored their religion to its ancient splendour and authority. The intention was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conspirators, should begin

[o] Temple, p. 72, 73. 78. Dugdale, p. 73.

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an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces, and should attack all the English settlements; and that, on the same day, Lord Maguire, and Roger More, should surpise the castle of Dublin. The commencement of the revolt was fixed on the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. Succours to themselves, and supplies of arms, they expected from France, in consequence of a promise made them by Cardinal Richelieu; and many Irish officers, who served in the Spanish troops, had engaged to join them, as soon as they saw an insurrection entered upon by their Catholic brethren. News, which every day arrived from England, of the fury expressed by the Commons against all Papists, struck fresh terror into the Irish nation, and both stimulated the conspirators to execute their fatal purpose, and gave them assured hopes of the concurrence of all their countrymen[p].

Such propensity to a revolt was discovered in all the Irish, that it was deemed unnecessary, as it was dangerous, to entrust the secret to many hands; and the appointed day drew nigh, nor had any discovery been yet made to the government. The king, indeed, had received information from his ambassadors, that something was in agitation among the Irish in foreign parts; but though he gave warning to the administration in Ireland, the intelligence was entirely neglected[q]. Secret rumours likewise were heard of some approaching conspiracy; but no attention was paid to them. The Earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lieutenant, remained in London. The two justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, were men of small abilities; and by an inconvenience common to all factious times, owed their advancement to nothing but their zeal for the party by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquil from their ignorance and inexperience, these men indulged themselves in the most profound repose, on the very brink of destruction.

But they were awakened from their security, on the very day before that which was appointed for the commencement of hostilities. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital was commanded, contained arms for ten thou-

[p] Dugdale, p. 74. [q] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 408. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 565.

sand men, with thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition: yet was this important place guarded, and that too without any care, by no greater force than fifty men. Maguire and More were already in town with a numerous band of their partisans; others were expected that night; and, next morning, they were to enter upon, what they esteemed the easiest of all enterprises, the surprisal of the castle. O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a Protestant, betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons[r]. The justices and council fled immediately for safety into the castle and reinforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the Protestants prepared for defence. More escaped; Maguire was taken; and Mahone, one of the conspirators, being likewise seized, first discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and redoubled the apprehensions which already were universally diffused throughout Dublin[s].

Irish insurrection and massacre.

But though O'Conolly's discovery saved the castle from a surprise, the confession extorted from Mahone came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, everywhere intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity[t]. The houses, cattle, goods, of the unwary English, were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies[u]. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced

[r] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 399. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 520. May, book 2. p. 6.
[s] Temple, p. 17, 18, 19, 20. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 400.
[t] Temple, p. 39, 40. 79.
[u] Idem, p. 42.

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with them, and perished by the same stroke[w]. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continual intercourse of kindness and good offices[x].

But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, encouraged by the utmost licence, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity inherent in human breasts be destroyed by that contagion of example, which transports men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour.

The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty[y]. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases or defenceless children of the English[z]. The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine made their own, yet, because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts[a].

The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the

[w] Temple, p. 40. [x] Idem, p. 39, 40. [y] Idem, p. 96. 101. Rushw. vol. v. p. 415.
[z] Temple, p. 100. [a] Idem, p. 84.

planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground. And where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes[b].

If any where a number assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge on their assassins, they were disarmed by capitulations, and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen[c].

Others, more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners, by the fond love of life, to imbrue their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which they sought to shun by deserving it[d].

Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of RELIGION resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious[e]. Nature, which in that rude people was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther stimulated by precept; and national prejudices empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal[f].

Such were the barbarities by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion; an event memorable in the annals of human kind, and

[b] Temple, p. 29. 106. Rushw. vol. v. p. 414.
[c] Whitlocke, p. 47. Rushw. vol. v. p. 416.
[d] Temple, p. 100.
[e] Idem, p. 85. 106.
[f] Idem, p. 94. 107, 108. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 407.

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worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The generous nature of More was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties. He flew to O'Neale's camp; but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon after, he abandoned a cause polluted by so many crimes; and he retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatness of his family, and perhaps, too, by the unrestrained brutality of his nature, though without any courage or capacity, acquired the entire ascendant over the northern rebels[g]. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster: the Scots, at first, met with more favourable treatment. In order to engage them to a passive neutrality, the Irish pretended to distinguish between the British nations; and claiming friendship and consanguinity with the Scots, extended not over them the fury of their massacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country: others retired into places of security, and prepared themselves for defence; and by this means, the Scottish planters, most of them at least, escaped with their lives[h].

From Ulster, the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon; though the Irish, in these other provinces, pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goodly manors, with wasting their cultivated fields; they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out, naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season[i]. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished[k]. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English, hastening towards Dublin and the other cities, which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble age of children, the tender sex of women, soon

[g] Temple, p. 44.
[h] Idem, p. 41. Rushw. vol. i. p. 416.
[i] Temple, p. 42.
[k] Idem, p. 64.

sunk under the multiplied rigours of cold and hunger. Here, the husband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate which he himself expected so soon to share: there, the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands, and abandoning him in this uttermost distress, reserved himself to the hopes of avenging that death which all his efforts could not prevent or delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears, or lamentable cries, they hurried on through the hostile territories; and found every heart which was not steeled by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion [l].

The saving of Dublin preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city, though timorously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and presented to the view a scene of human misery beyond what any eye had ever before beheld [m]. Compassion seized the amazed inhabitants, aggravated with the fear of like calamities; while they observed the numerous foes without and within, which every where environed them, and reflected on the weak resources by which they were themselves supported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thousand, were enlisted into three regiments: the rest were distributed into the houses; and all care was taken, by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from these multiplied distresses, seized many of them, and put a speedy period to their lives: others having now leisure to reflect on their mighty loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being which they had saved. Abandoning themselves to despair, refusing all succour, they expired; without other consolation than that of receiving among their countrymen the honours of a grave, which, to their slaughtered companions, had been denied by the inhuman barbarians [n].

By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties are supposed to be a hundred and fifty or two

[l] Temple, p. 88. [m] Idem, p. 62. [n] Idem, p. 43. 62.

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hundred thousand: by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they are made to amount to forty thousand—if this estimation itself be not, as is usual in such cases, somewhat exaggerated.

The justices ordered to Dublin all the bodies of the army which were not surrounded by the rebels; and they assembled a force of fifteen hundred veterans. They soon enlisted, and armed from the magazines, above four thousand men more. They despatched a body of six hundred men to throw relief into Tredah, besieged by the Irish. But these troops, attacked by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and were most of them put to the sword. Their arms falling into the hands of the Irish, supplied them with what they most wanted[o]. The justices, willing to foment the rebellion, in a view of profiting by the multiplied forfeitures, henceforth thought of nothing more than providing for their own present security, and that of the capital. The Earl of Ormond, their general, remonstrated against such timid, not to say base and interested counsels, but was obliged to submit to authority.

The English of the pale, who probably were not at first in the secret, pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied[p]. By their protestations and declarations, they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government[q]. But, in a little time, the interests of religion were found more prevalent over them, than regard and duty to their mother country. They chose Lord Gormanstone their leader; and joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence towards the English Protestants. Besides many smaller bodies dispersed over the kingdom, the principal army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege[r].

Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they seduced many of their deluded countrymen: they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed, that the cause of their taking

[o] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 905. [p] Temple, p. 33. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 402.
[q] Temple, p. 60. Borlace, Hist. p. 28. [r] Whitlocke, p. 49.

arms was to vindicate royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical Parliament[s]. Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in Lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself[t]. CHAP. LV. 1641.

The king received an account of this insurrection by a messenger despatched from the north of Ireland. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottish Parliament. He expected that the mighty zeal expressed by the Scots for the Protestant religion would immediately engage them to fly to its defence, where it was so violently invaded: he hoped that their horror against popery, a religion which now appeared in its most horrible aspect, would second all his exhortations: he had observed with what alacrity they had twice run to arms, and assembled troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign: he saw with how much greater facility they could now collect forces, which had been very lately disbanded, and which had been so long inured to military discipline. The cries of their affrighted and distressed brethren in Ireland, he promised himself, would powerfully incite them to send over succours, which could arrive so quickly, and aid them with such promptitude in this uttermost distress. But the zeal of the Scots, as is usual among religious sects, was very feeble, when not stimulated either by faction or by interest. They now considered themselves entirely as a republic, and made no account of the authority of their prince, which they had utterly annihilated. Conceiving hopes from the present distresses of Ireland, they resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours with which they should supply their neighbouring nation; and they cast their eye towards the English Parliament, with whom they were already so closely connected, and who could alone fulfil any articles which might be agreed on. Except despatching a small body to support the Scottish colonies in Ulster, they would, therefore, go no farther at present, than sending commissioners to London, in order to treat with that power, to whom the sovereign authority was now in reality transferred[u].

[s] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 400, 401. [t] Idem, ibid. p. 402.
[u] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 407.

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The king too, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency to have recourse to the English Parliament, and depend on their assistance for supply. After communicating to them the intelligence which he had received, he informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash enterprise, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. To their care and wisdom, therefore, he said, he committed the conduct and prosecution of the war, which, in a cause so important to national and religious interests, must of necessity be immediately entered upon, and vigorously pursued[w].

Meeting of the English Parliament.

The English Parliament was now assembled; and discovered, in every vote, the same dispositions in which they had separated. The exalting of their own authority, the diminishing of the king's, were still the objects pursued by the majority. Every attempt which had been made to gain the popular leaders, and by offices to attach them to the crown, had failed of success, either for want of skill in conducting it, or by reason of the slender preferments which it was then in the king's power to confer. The ambitious and enterprising patriots disdained to accept, in detail, of a precarious power; while they deemed it so easy, by one bold and vigorous assault, to possess themselves for ever of the entire sovereignty. Sensible that the measures which they had hitherto pursued rendered them extremely obnoxious to the king; were many of them in themselves exceptionable; some of them, strictly speaking, illegal; they resolved to seek their own security, as well as greatness, by enlarging popular authority in England. The great necessities to which the king was reduced; the violent prejudices which generally, throughout the nation, prevailed against him; his facility, in making the most important concessions; the example of the Scots, whose encroachments had totally subverted monarchy: all these circumstances farther instigated the Commons in their invasion of royal prerogative; and the danger to which the constitution seemed to have been so lately exposed, persuaded many that it never could be sufficiently secured, but by the entire abolition of that authority which had invaded it.

[w] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 301.

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But this project, it had not been in the power, scarcely in the intention, of the popular leaders to execute, had it not been for the passion which seized the nation for presbyterian discipline, and for the wild enthusiasm which at that time accompanied it. The licence which the Parliament had bestowed on this spirit by checking ecclesiastical authority, the countenance and encouragement with which they had honoured it, had already diffused its influence to a wonderful degree; and all orders of men had drunk deep of the intoxicating poison. In every discourse or conversation, this mode of religion entered; in all business it had a share; every elegant pleasure or amusement it utterly annihilated; many vices or corruptions of mind it promoted; even diseases and bodily distempers were not totally exempted from it; and it became requisite, we are told, for all physicians to be expert in the spiritual profession, and, by theological considerations, to allay those religious terrors with which their patients were so generally haunted. Learning itself, which tends so much to enlarge the mind and humanize the temper, rather served on this occasion to exalt that epidemical frenzy which prevailed. Rude as yet, and imperfect, it supplied the dismal fanaticism with a variety of views, founded it on some coherency of system, enriched it with different figures of elocution; advantages with which a people, totally ignorant and barbarous, had been happily unacquainted.

From policy, at first, and inclination, now from necessity, the king attached himself extremely to the hierarchy: for like reasons, his enemies were determined, by one and the same effort, to overpower the church and monarchy.

While the Commons were in this disposition, the Irish rebellion was the event which tended most to promote the views in which all their measures terminated. A horror against the Papists, however innocent, they had constantly encouraged; a terror from the conspiracies of that sect, however improbable, they had at all times endeavoured to excite. Here was broken out a rebellion, dreadful and unexpected; accompanied with circumstances the most detestable, of which there ever was any record; and what was the peculiar guilt of the Irish Catholics, it was no difficult matter, in the present dis-

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position of men's minds, to attribute to that whole sect, who were already so much the object of general abhorrence. Accustomed, in all invectives, to join the prelatical party with the Papists, the people immediately supposed this insurrection to be the result of their united counsels; and when they heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their acts of violence, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman [x].

By the difficulties and distresses of the crown, the Commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, had aggrandized themselves; and it seemed a peculiar happiness, that the Irish rebellion had succeeded, at so critical a juncture, to the pacification of Scotland. That expression of the king's by which he committed to them the care of Ireland, they immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. They had, on other occasions, been gradually encroaching on the executive power of the crown, which forms its principal and most natural branch of authority; but, with regard to Ireland, they at once assumed it, fully and entirely, as if delivered over to them by a regular gift or assignment: and to this usurpation the king was obliged passively to submit; both because of his inability to resist, and lest he should still more expose himself to the reproach of favouring the progress of that odious rebellion.

The project of introducing farther innovations in England being once formed by the leaders among the Commons, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with regard to Ireland should, all of them, be considered as subordinate to the former, on whose success, when once undertaken, their own grandeur, security, and even being, must entirely depend. While they pretended the utmost zeal against the Irish insurrection, they took no steps towards its suppression, but such as likewise tended to give them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw must so soon be excited in England [y]. The extreme contempt entertained

[x] See note [C], at the end of the volume.
[y] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 435. Sir Edw. Walker, p. 6.

for the natives in Ireland made the popular leaders believe, that it would be easy at any time to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom: nor were they willing to lose, by too hasty success, the advantage which that rebellion would afford them in their projected encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtship and dependence of every one who had any connexion with Ireland, or who was desirous of enlisting in these military enterprises: they levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition; but reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines; but still kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself: whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and which still threatened total destruction to the Protestant interest throughout all his dominions[z]: and though no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted during the extreme distress of that kingdom, so strong was the people's attachment to the Commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the Irish rebels.

To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to frame a general remonstrance of the state of the nation; and, accordingly, the committee, which, at the first meeting of Parliament, had been chosen for that purpose, and which had hitherto made no progress in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking.

The remonstrance.

The committee brought into the House that remonstrance, which has become so memorable, and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The harshness of the matter was equalled by the severity of

[z] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 618. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 590.

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the language. It consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths: malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives: loud complaints of the past, accompanied with jealous prognostications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invidious, whatever suspicious measure had been embraced by the king, from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on and aggravated with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz, and the Isle of Rhé, are mentioned: the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the Hugonots: the forced loans: the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands: the violent dissolution of four Parliaments: the arbitrary government which always succeeded: the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the House: the levying of taxes without consent of the Commons: the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: in short, every thing which, either with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present Parliament. And though all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return, the praise of these advantages was ascribed, not to the king, but to the Parliament who had extorted his consent to such salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the king, were no less eminent than towards the people. Though they had seized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their temporary supplies be paid to their own commissioners, who were independent of him, they pretended that they had liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more egregious, the very giving of money to the Scots, for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into Eng-

land and Scotland, and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland [a]. CHAP. LV. 1641.

This remonstrance, so full of acrimony and violence, was a plain signal for some farther attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration, that the concessions already made, however important, were not to be regarded as satisfactory. What pretensions would be advanced, how unprecedented, how unlimited, were easily imagined; and nothing less was foreseen, whatever ancient names might be preserved, than an abolition, almost total, of the monarchical government of England. The opposition, therefore, which the remonstrance met with in the House of Commons, was great. For above fourteen hours, the debate was warmly managed; and from the weariness of the king's party, which probably consisted chiefly of the elderly people, and men of cool spirits, the vote was at last carried by a small majority of eleven [b]. Some time after, the remonstrance was ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up to the House of Peers for their assent and concurrence. 22nd Nov.

When this remonstrance was dispersed, it excited every where the same violent controversy, which attended it when introduced into the House of Commons. This Parliament, said the partisans of that assembly, have at length profited by the fatal example of their predecessors; and are resolved that the fabric, which they have generously undertaken to rear for the protection of liberty, shall not be left to future ages insecure and imperfect. At the time when the petition of right, that requisite vindication of a violated constitution, was extorted from the unwilling prince, who but imagined that liberty was at last secured, and that the laws would thenceforth maintain themselves in opposition to arbitrary authority? But what was the event? a right was indeed acquired to the people, or rather their ancient right was more exactly defined: but as the *power* of invading it still remained in the prince, no sooner did an opportunity offer than he totally disregarded all laws and preceding engagements, and made his will and pleasure the sole rule of government. Those lofty ideas of mo- Reasons on both sides.

[a] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 438. Nalson, vol. i. p. 694.
[b] Whitlocke, p. 49. Dugdale, p. 71. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 668.

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narchical authority, which he has derived from his early education, which are united in his mind with the irresistible illusions of self-love, which are corroborated by his mistaken principles of religion, it is in vain to hope that, in his more advanced age, he will sincerely renounce, from any subsequent reflection or experience. Such conversions, if ever they happen, are extremely rare; but to expect that they will be derived from necessity, from the jealousy and resentment of antagonists, from blame, from reproach, from opposition, must be the result of the fondest and most blind credulity. These violences, however necessary, are sure to irritate a prince against limitations so cruelly imposed upon him; and each concession, which he is constrained to make, is regarded as a temporary tribute paid to faction and sedition, and is secretly attended with a resolution of seizing every favourable opportunity to retract it. Nor should we imagine that opportunities of that kind will not offer in the course of human affairs. Governments, especially those of a mixed kind, are in continual fluctuation: the humours of the people change perpetually from one extreme to another: and no resolution can be more wise, as well as more just, than that of employing the present advantages against the king, who had formerly pushed much less tempting ones to the utmost extremities against his people and his Parliament. It is to be feared, that, if the religious rage which has seized the multitude be allowed to evaporate, they will quickly return to the ancient ecclesiastical establishment; and with it, embrace those principles of slavery, which it inculcates with such zeal on its submissive proselytes. Those patriots, who are now the public idols, may then become the objects of general detestation; and equal shouts of joy attend their ignominious execution, with those which second their present advantages and triumphs. Nor ought the apprehension of such an event to be regarded in them as a selfish consideration: in their safety is involved the security of the laws: the patrons of the constitution cannot suffer without a fatal blow to the constitution: and it is but justice in the public to protect, at any hazard, those who have so generously exposed themselves to the utmost hazard for the public interest. What though monarchy, the ancient

government of England, be impaired, during these contests, in many of its former prerogatives: the laws will flourish the more by its decay; and it is happy, allowing that matters are really carried beyond the bounds of moderation, that the current at least runs towards liberty, and that the error is on that side which is safest for the general interest of mankind and society.

The best arguments of the royalists against a farther attack on the prerogative were founded more on opposite ideas, which they had formed of the past events of this reign, than on opposite principles of government. Some invasions, they said, and those too of moment, had undoubtedly been made on national privileges: but were we to look for the cause of these violences, we should never find it to consist in the wanton tyranny and injustice of the prince, not even in his ambition or immoderate appetite for authority. The hostilities with Spain, in which the king, on his accession, found himself engaged, however imprudent and unnecessary, had proceeded from the advice, and even importunity, of the Parliament, who deserted him immediately after they had embarked him in those warlike measures. A young prince, jealous of honour, was naturally afraid of being foiled in his first enterprise, and had not as yet attained such maturity of counsel, as to perceive that his greatest honour lay in preserving the laws inviolate, and gaining the full confidence of his people. The rigour of the subsequent Parliaments had been extreme with regard to many articles, particularly tonnage and poundage; and had reduced the king to an absolute necessity, if he would preserve entire the royal prerogative, of levying those duties by his own authority, and of breaking through the forms, in order to maintain the spirit, of the constitution. Having once made so perilous a step, he was naturally induced to continue, and to consult the public interest, by imposing ship-money, and other moderate, though irregular, burdens and taxations. A sure proof that he had formed no system for enslaving his people is, that the chief object of his government has been to raise a naval, not a military force; a project useful, honourable, nay indispensably requisite, and, in spite of his great necessities, brought almost to a happy conclu-

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sion. It is now full time to free him from all these necessities, and to apply cordials and lenitives, after those severities, which have already had their full course against him. Never was sovereign blessed with more moderation of temper, with more justice, more humanity, more honour, or a more gentle disposition. What pity that such a prince should so long have been harassed with rigours, suspicions, calumnies, complaints, encroachments; and been forced from that path in which the rectitude of his principles would have inclined him to have constantly trod! If some few instances are found of violations made on the petition of right, which he himself had granted, there is an easier and more natural way for preventing the return of like inconveniences, than by a total abolition of royal authority. Let the revenue be settled, suitably to the ancient dignity and splendour of the crown; let the public necessities be fully supplied; let the remaining articles of prerogative be left untouched; and the king, as he has already lost the power, will lay aside the will, of invading the constitution. From what quarter can jealousies now arise? What farther security can be desired or expected? The king's preceding concessions, so far from being insufficient for public security, have rather erred on the other extreme; and, by depriving him of all power of self-defence, are the real cause why the Commons are emboldened to raise pretensions hitherto unheard of in the kingdom, and to subvert the whole system of the constitution. But would they be content with moderate advantages, is it not evident that, besides other important concessions, the present Parliament may be continued, till the government be accustomed to the new track, and every part be restored to full harmony and concord? By the triennial act a perpetual succession of Parliaments is established, as everlasting guardians to the laws, while the king possesses no independent power or military force, by which he can be supported in his invasion of them. No danger remains, but what is inseparable from all free constitutions, and what forms the very essence of their freedom: the danger of a change in the people's disposition, and of general disgust, contracted against popular privileges. To prevent such an evil, no expedient is more proper than

to contain ourselves within the bounds of moderation, and to consider that all extremes, naturally and infallibly, beget each other. In the same manner as the past usurpations of the crown, however excusable on account of the necessity or provocations whence they arose, have excited an immeasurable appetite for liberty; let us beware, lest our encroachments, by introducing anarchy, make the people seek shelter under the peaceable and despotic rule of a monarch. Authority, as well as liberty, is requisite to government; and is even requisite to the support of liberty itself, by maintaining the laws, which can alone regulate and protect it. What madness, while every thing is so happily settled under ancient forms and institutions, now more exactly poised and adjusted, to try the hazardous experiment of a new constitution, and renounce the mature wisdom of our ancestors for the crude whimsies of turbulent innovators! Besides the certain and inconceivable mischiefs of civil war, are not the perils apparent, which the delicate frame of liberty must inevitably sustain amidst the furious shock of arms? Whichever side prevails, *she* can scarcely hope to remain inviolate, and may suffer no less, or rather greater, injuries from the boundless pretensions of forces engaged in her cause, than from the invasion of enraged troops, enlisted on the side of monarchy.

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The king, upon his return from Scotland, was received in London with the shouts and acclamations of the people, and with every demonstration of regard and affection [c]. Sir Richard Gourney, lord mayor, a man of moderation and authority, had promoted these favourable dispositions, and had engaged the populace, who so lately insulted the king, and who so soon after made furious war upon him, to give him these marks of their dutiful attachment. But all the pleasure which Charles reaped from this joyous reception was soon damped by the remonstrance of the Commons which was presented him, together with a petition of a like strain. The bad counsels which he followed are there complained of; his concurrence in the Irish rebellion plainly insinuated; the scheme laid for the introduction of popery and superstition inveighed against; and, as a remedy for all these evils, he is desired to entrust

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[c] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 429.

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every office and command to persons in whom his Parliament should have cause to confide[d]. By this phrase, which is so often repeated in all the memorials and addresses of that time, the Commons meant themselves and their adherents.

As soon as the remonstrance of the Commons was published, the king dispersed an answer to it. In this contest he lay under great disadvantages. Not only the ears of the people were extremely prejudiced against him; the best topics upon which he could justify, at least apologize for, his former conduct, were such as it was not safe or prudent for him at this time to employ. So high was the national idolatry towards Parliaments, that to blame the past conduct of these assemblies would have been very ill received by the generality of the people. So loud were the complaints against regal usurpations, that had the king asserted the prerogative of supplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, arising from the obstinacy of the Commons, he would have increased the clamours with which the whole nation already resounded. Charles, therefore, contented himself with observing in general, that even during that period so much complained of, the people enjoyed a great measure of happiness, not only comparatively, in respect of their neighbours, but even in respect of those times which were justly accounted the most fortunate. He made warm protestations of sincerity in the reformed religion; he promised indulgence to tender consciences with regard to the ceremonies of the church; he mentioned his great concessions to national liberty; he blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person and the national religion; he complained of the general reproaches thrown out in the remonstrance with regard to ill counsels, though he had protected no minister from parliamentary justice, retained no unpopular servant, and conferred offices on no one who enjoyed not a high character and estimation in the public. "If, notwithstanding this," he adds, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and con-

[d] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 437. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 692.

science; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of government, that all disorder and confusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God in his good time will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of Parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment[e]." Nothing shows more evidently the hard situation in which Charles was placed, than to observe, that he was obliged to confine himself within the limits of civility towards subjects who had transgressed all bounds of regard, and even of good manners, in the treatment of their sovereign.

The first instance of those parliamentary encroachments which Charles was now to look for, was the bill for pressing soldiers to the service of Ireland. This bill quickly passed the Lower House. In the preamble, the king's power of pressing, a power exercised during all former times, was declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject. By a necessary consequence, the prerogative which the crown had ever assumed of obliging men to accept of any branch of public service was abolished and annihilated: a prerogative, it must be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. In order to elude this law, the king offered to raise ten thousand volunteers for the Irish service; but the Commons were afraid lest such an army should be too much at his devotion. Charles, still unwilling to submit to so considerable a diminution of power, came to the House of Peers, and offered to pass the law without the preamble; by which means, he said, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would for the present be avoided, and the pretensions of each party be left entire. Both Houses took fire at this measure, which, from a similar instance while the bill of attainder against Strafford was in dependence, Charles might foresee would be received with resentment. The Lords, as well as Commons, passed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill which was in agitation in either of the Houses, or to express

[e] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 748.

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his sentiments with regard to it, before it be presented to him for his assent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compose all matters by an apology [f].

The general question, we may observe, with regard to privileges of Parliament, has always been, and still continues, one of the greatest mysteries in the English constitution; and in some respects, notwithstanding the accurate genius of that government, these privileges are at present as undetermined as were formerly the prerogatives of the crown. Such privileges as are founded on long precedent cannot be controverted: but though it were certain that former kings had not, in any instance, taken notice of bills lying before the Houses, (which yet appears to have been very common,) it follows not, merely from their never exerting such a power, that they had renounced it, or never were possessed of it. Such privileges also as are essential to all free assemblies which deliberate, they may be allowed to assume, whatever precedents may prevail: but though the king's interposition, by an offer of advice, does in some degree overawe or restrain liberty, it may be doubted whether it imposes such evident violence as to entitle the Parliament, without any other authority or concession, to claim the privilege of excluding it. But this was the favourable time for extending privileges; and had none more exorbitant or unreasonable been challenged, few bad consequences had followed. The establishment of this rule, it is certain, contributes to the order and regularity, as well as freedom of parliamentary proceedings.

The interposition of peers in the election of commoners was likewise about this time declared a breach of privilege; and continues ever since to be condemned by votes of the Commons, and universally practised throughout the nation.

Every measure pursued by the Commons, and, still more, every attempt made by their partisans, were full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and showed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. Besides numberless vexations and persecutions which the clergy underwent from

[f] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 457, 458, &c. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 327. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 738. 750, 751, &c.

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the arbitrary power of the Lower House, the Peers, while the king was in Scotland, having passed an order for the observance of the laws with regard to public worship, the Commons assumed such authority, that, by a vote alone of their House, they suspended those laws, though enacted by the whole legislature; and they particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus; a practice which gave them the highest scandal, and which was one of their capital objections against the established religion[g]. They complained of the king's filling five vacant sees, and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should complete and strengthen an order which they intended soon entirely to abolish[h]. They had accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without consent of Parliament[i], though, from the foundation of the monarchy, no other method had ever been practised: and they now insisted that the Peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in Parliament, and commit them to prison. Their bill for taking away the bishops' votes had last winter been rejected by the Peers: but they again introduced the same bill, though no prorogation had intervened; and they endeavoured, by some minute alterations, to elude that rule of Parliament which opposed them: and when they sent up this bill to the Lords, they made a demand, the most absurd in the world, that the bishops, being all of them parties, should be refused a vote with regard to that question[k]. After the resolution was once formed by the Commons, of invading the established government of church and state, it could not be expected that their proceedings, in such a violent attempt, would thenceforth be altogether regular and equitable: but it must be confessed, that, in their attack on the hierarchy, they still more openly passed all bounds of moderation, as supposing, no doubt, that the sacredness of the cause would sufficiently atone for employing means the most irregular and unprecedented. This principle, which prevails so much among zealots, never displayed itself so openly as during the transactions of this whole period.

[g] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 385, 386. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 482.
[h] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 511.
[i] Rushw. vol. v. p. 359.
[k] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 304.

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But notwithstanding these efforts of the Commons, they could not expect the concurrence of the Upper House, either to this law, or to any other which they should introduce for the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king, and plainly foresaw the depression of nobility, as a necessary consequence of popular usurpations on the crown. The insolence, indeed, of the Commons, and their haughty treatment of the Lords, had already risen to a great height, and gave sufficient warning of their future attempts upon that order. They muttered somewhat of their regret that they should be obliged to save the kingdom alone, and that the House of Peers would have no part in the honour. Nay, they went so far as openly to tell the Lords, "That they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were nothing but individuals, who held their seats in a particular capacity: and therefore if their lordships will not consent to the passing of acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the Commons, together with such of the Lords as are more sensible of the danger, must join together, and represent the matter to his majesty[1]." So violent was the democratical, enthusiastic spirit diffused throughout the nation, that a total confusion of all rank and order was justly to be apprehended; and the wonder was not that the majority of the nobles should seek shelter under the throne, but that any of them should venture to desert it. But the tide of popularity seized many, and carried them wide of the most established maxims of civil policy. Among the opponents of the king are ranked the Earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, a man of the first family and fortune, and endowed with that dignified pride which so well became his rank and station; the Earl of Essex, who inherited all his father's popularity, and having, from his early youth, sought renown in arms, united to a middling capacity that rigid inflexibility of honour which forms the proper ornament of a nobleman and a soldier; Lord Kimbolton, soon after Earl of Manchester, a person distinguished by humanity, generosity, affability, and every amiable virtue. These men, finding that their credit

[1] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 415.

ran high with the nation, ventured to encourage those popular disorders which they vainly imagined they possessed authority sufficient to regulate and control.

In order to obtain a majority in the Upper House, the Commons had recourse to the populace, who on other occasions had done them such important service. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation, and seemed to quake at every breath or rumour of danger. They again excited the people by never-ceasing inquiries after conspiracies, by reports of insurrections, by feigned intelligence of invasions from abroad, by discoveries of dangerous combinations at home among Papists and their adherents. When Charles dismissed the guard which they had ordered during his absence, they complained; and upon his promising them a new guard, under the command of the Earl of Lindesey, they absolutely refused the offer, and were well pleased to insinuate, by this instance of jealousy, that their danger chiefly arose from the king himself[m]. They ordered halberts to be brought into the hall where they assembled, and thus armed themselves against those conspiracies with which, they pretended, they were hourly threatened. All stories of plots, however ridiculous, were willingly attended to, and were dispersed among the multitude, to whose capacity they were well adapted. Beale, a tailor, informed the Commons, that, walking in the fields, he had hearkened to the discourse of certain persons unknown to him, and had heard them talk of a most dangerous conspiracy. A hundred and eight ruffians, as he learned, had been appointed to murder a hundred and eight lords and commoners, and were promised rewards for these assassinations, ten pounds for each lord, forty shillings for each commoner. Upon this notable intelligence, orders were issued for seizing priests and Jesuits, a conference was desired with the Lords, and the deputy-lieutenants of some suspected counties were ordered to put the people in a posture of defence[n].

The pulpits likewise were called in aid, and resounded with the dangers which threatened religion, from the

[m] Journ. 30th Nov. 1641. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 688.
[n] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 646. Journ. 16th Nov. 1641. Dugdale, p. 77.

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desperate attempts of Papists and malignants. Multitudes flocked towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates and such of the lords as adhered to the crown. The Peers voted a declaration against those tumults, and sent it to the Lower House; but these refused their concurrence[o]. Some seditious apprentices, being seized and committed to prison, immediately received their liberty, by an order of the Commons[p]. The sheriffs and justices having appointed constables with strong watches to guard the Parliament, the Commons sent for the constables, and required them to discharge the watches, convened the justices, voted their orders a breach of privilege, and sent one of them to the Tower[q]. Encouraged by these intimations of their pleasure, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against Charles himself. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of ROUNDHEADS, on account of the short cropt hair which they wore; these called the others CAVALIERS: and thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred[r].

Meanwhile the tumults still continued, and even increased about Westminster and Whitehall. The cry incessantly resounded against *bishops and rotten-hearted lords*[s]. The former especially, being distinguishable by their habit, and being the object of violent hatred to all the sectaries, were exposed to the most dangerous insults[t]. Williams, now created Archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his brethren. By his advice a protestation was drawn and addressed to the king and the House of Lords. The bishops there set forth, that though they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in Parliament, yet, in

Dec. 27.

[o] Rushworth, part 3. vol. i. p. 710. [p] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 784. 792.
[q] Ibid. p. 792. Journ. 27th, 28th, and 29th of December, 1641.
[r] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 339. [s] Idem, ibid. p. 336. [t] Dugdale, p. 78.

coming thither, they had been menaced, assaulted, affronted, by the unruly multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty in the House. For this reason they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence. This protestation, which, though just and legal, was certainly ill-timed, was signed by twelve bishops, and communicated to the king, who hastily approved of it. As soon as it was presented to the Lords, that House desired a conference with the Commons, whom they informed of this unexpected protestation. The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature[u]. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from Parliament, and committed to custody. No man, in either House, ventured to speak a word in their vindication; so much displeased was every one at the egregious imprudence of which they had been guilty. One person alone said, that he did not believe them guilty of high treason; but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam[w].

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Impeachment of the bishops.

A few days after, the king was betrayed into another indiscretion, much more fatal: an indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly to be ascribed. This was the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members.

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When the Commons employed, in their remonstrance, language so severe and indecent, they had not been actuated entirely by insolence and passion: their views were more solid and profound. They considered, that in a violent attempt, such as an invasion of the ancient constitution, the more leisure was afforded the people to reflect, the less would they be inclined to second that rash and dangerous enterprise; that the Peers would certainly refuse their concurrence, nor were there any hopes of prevailing on them, but by instigating the populace to tumult and disorder; that the employing of such odious means for so invidious an end would, at long

[u] Whitlocke, p. 51. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 466. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 794.
[w] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 355.

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run, lose them all their popularity, and turn the tide of favour to the contrary party; and that, if the king only remained in tranquillity, and cautiously eluded the first violence of the tempest, he would, in the end, certainly prevail, and be able at least to preserve the ancient laws and constitution. They were therefore resolved, if possible, to excite him to some violent passion; in hopes that he would commit indiscretions, of which they might make advantage.

It was not long before they succeeded beyond their fondest wishes. Charles was enraged to find that all his concessions but increased their demands; that the people, who were returning to a sense of duty towards him, were again roused to sedition and tumults; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and even the Irish massacre ascribed to his counsels and machinations; and that a method of address was adopted, not only unsuitable towards so great a prince, but which no private gentleman could bear without resentment. When he considered all these increasing acts of insolence in the Commons, he was apt to ascribe them, in a great measure, to his own indolence and facility. The queen and the ladies of the court farther stimulated his passion, and represented, that, if he exerted the vigour, and displayed the majesty of a monarch, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink before him. Lord Digby, a man of fine parts, but full of levity, and hurried on by precipitate passions, suggested like counsels; and Charles, who, though commonly moderate in his temper, was ever disposed to hasty resolutions, gave way to the fatal importunity of his friends and servants[x].

Accusation of the five members.

Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the House of Peers, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high treason against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, That they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to

[x] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 360.

alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal commands, and to side with them in their traitorous designs; that they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the rights and very being of Parliament; that, in order to complete their traitorous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them, and to that end had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and Parliament; and that they had traitorously conspired to levy, and actually had levied, war against the king[y].

The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection. Some of these articles of accusation, men said, to judge by appearance, seem to be common between the impeached members and the Parliament; nor did these persons appear any farther active in the enterprises of which they were accused, than so far as they concurred with the majority in their votes and speeches. Though proofs might, perhaps, be produced, of their privately inviting the Scots to invade England, how could such an attempt be considered as treason, after the act of oblivion which had passed, and after that both Houses, with the king's concurrence, had voted that nation three hundred thousand pounds for their brotherly assistance? While the House of Peers are scarcely able to maintain their independency, or to reject the bills sent them by the Commons, will they ever be permitted by the populace, supposing them inclined, to pass a sentence, which must totally subdue the Lower House, and put an end to their ambitious undertakings? These five members, at least Pym, Hambden, and Hollis, are the very heads of the popular party; and if these be taken off, what fate must be expected by their followers, who are many of them accomplices in the same treason? The punishment of leaders is ever the last triumph over a broken and routed party; but surely was never before attempted, in opposition to a faction, during the full tide of its power and success.

y Whitlocke, p. 50. Rushw. vol. v. p. 473. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 811. Franklyn, p. 906.

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But men had not leisure to wonder at the indiscretion of this measure: their astonishment was excited by new attempts, still more precipitate and imprudent. A sergeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the House the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies, were sealed and locked. The House voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members [z]. The king, irritated by all this opposition, resolved next day to come in person to the House, with an intention to demand, perhaps seize, in their presence, the persons whom he had accused.

This resolution was discovered to the Countess of Carlisle, sister to Northumberland, a lady of spirit, wit, and intrigue [a]. She privately sent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above two hundred, armed as usual, some with halberts, some with walking swords. The king left them at the door, and he himself advanced alone through the hall, while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. The speech which he made was as follows: "Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming to you. Yesterday, I sent a sergeant at arms, to demand some, who, by my order, were accused of high treason. Instead of obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I shall be, yet in cases of treason no person has privilege. Therefore am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way, for I never meant any other; and now, since I see I cannot do what I came

[z] Whitlocke, p. 50. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 474, 475.
[a] Whitlocke, p. 51. Warwick, p. 204.

for, I think this is no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it [b]."

When the king was looking around for the accused members, he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the House? The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied: "I have, sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me [c]."

The Commons were in the utmost disorder; and when the king was departing, some members cried aloud so as he might hear them, *Privilege! Privilege!* and the House immediately adjourned till next day [d].

That evening, the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpose, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to burn the city, and that the king himself was at their head.

Next morning Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common-council immediately. About ten o'clock, he himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall. He told the common-council, that he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to show how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. After many other gracious expressions, he told one of the sheriffs, who of the two was thought the least inclined to his service, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, *Privilege of Parliament! privilege of Parliament!* resounding from all quarters. One of the populace,

[b] Whitlocke, p. 50. [c] Ibid. May, book 2. p. 20.
[d] Whitlocke, p. 51.

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more insolent than the rest, drew nigh to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, *To your tents, O Israel!* the words employed by the mutinous Israelites when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign [e].

When the House of Commons met, they affected the greatest dismay; and adjourning themselves for some days, ordered a committee to sit in Merchant-Tailors' hall in the city. The committee made an exact inquiry into all circumstances attending the king's entry into the House; every passionate speech, every menacing gesture of any, even the meanest of his attendants, was recorded and aggravated: an intention of offering violence to the Parliament, of seizing the accused members in the very House, and of murdering all who should make resistance, was inferred; and that unparalleled breach of privilege, so it was called, was still ascribed to the counsel of Papists and their adherents. This expression, which then recurred every moment in speeches and memorials, and which at present is so apt to excite laughter in the reader, begat at that time the deepest and most real consternation throughout the kingdom.

A letter was pretended to be intercepted, and was communicated to the committee, who pretended to lay great stress upon it. One Catholic there congratulates another on the accusation of the members; and represents that incident as a branch of the same pious contrivance which had excited the Irish insurrection, and by which the profane heretics would soon be exterminated in England [f].

The House again met, and after confirming the votes of their committee, instantly adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. This practice they continued for some time. When the people, by these affected panics, were wrought up to a sufficient degree of rage and terror, it was thought proper, that the accused members should, with a triumphant and military procession, take their seats in the House. The river was covered with boats, and other vessels, laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared

[e] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 479. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 361.
[f] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 836.

for fight. Skippon, whom the Parliament had appointed, by their own authority, major-general of the city militia [g], conducted the members, at the head of this tumultuary army, to Westminster-hall. And when the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they still asked, with insulting shouts, *What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled* [h]*?*

Tumults.

The king, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton-court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. His distressed situation he could no longer ascribe to the rigours of destiny, or the malignity of enemies: his own precipitancy and indiscretion must bear the blame of whatever disasters should henceforth befall him. The most faithful of his adherents, between sorrow and indignation, were confounded with reflections on what had happened, and what was likely to follow. Seeing every prospect blasted, faction triumphant, the discontented populace inflamed to a degree of fury, they utterly despaired of success in a cause to whose ruin friends and enemies seemed equally to conspire.

King leaves London.

The prudence of the king in his conduct of this affair nobody pretended to justify. The legality of his proceedings met with many and just apologies, though generally offered to unwilling ears. No maxim of law, it was said, is more established or more universally allowed, than that privilege of Parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; nor has either House, during former ages, ever pretended in any of those cases to interpose in behalf of its members. Though some inconveniences should result from the observance of this maxim, that would not be sufficient, without other authority, to abolish a principle established by uninterrupted precedent, and founded on the tacit consent of the whole legislature. But what are the inconveniences so much dreaded? The king, on pretence of treason, may seize any members of the opposite faction, and for a time, gain to his partisans the majority of voices. But if he seize only a few, will he not lose more friends by such a gross

[g] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 833.
[h] Whitlocke, p. 52. Dugdale, p. 82. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 380.

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artifice than he confines enemies? If he seize a great number, is not this expedient force, open and barefaced? And what remedy at all times against such force, but to oppose to it a force which is superior? Even allowing that the king intended to employ violence, not authority, for seizing the members; though at that time, and ever afterwards, he positively asserted the contrary; yet will his conduct admit of excuse. That the hall, where the Parliament assembles, is an inviolable sanctuary, was never yet pretended. And if the Commons complain of the affront offered them, by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence; the blame must lie entirely on themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the king's message, when he peaceably demanded these members. The sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the House against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited.

Charles knew to how little purpose he should urge these reasons against the present fury of the Commons. He proposed, therefore, by a message, that they would agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his prosecution against the members, lest farther misunderstandings happen with regard to privilege. They desired him to lay the grounds of accusation before the House; and pretended that they must first judge whether it were proper to give up their members to a legal trial. The king then informed them, that he would wave for the present all prosecution: by successive messages, he afterwards offered a pardon to the members; offered to concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; offered any reparation to the House for the breach of privilege, of which, he acknowledged, they had reason to complain [i]. They were resolved to accept of no satisfaction, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure: a condition to which they knew that, without rendering himself for ever vile and contemptible, he could not possibly submit. Meanwhile they continued to thunder against the violation of parliamentary privileges, and by their violent outcries to inflame the whole nation.

[i] Dugdale, p. 84. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 484. 488. 492, &c.

The secret reason of their displeasure, however obvious, they carefully concealed. In the king's accusation of the members, they plainly saw his judgment of the late parliamentary proceedings; and every adherent of the ruling faction dreaded the same fate, should royal authority be re-established in its ancient lustre. By the most unhappy conduct, Charles, while he extremely augmented in his opponents the will, had also increased the ability of hurting him.

The more to excite the people, whose dispositions were already very seditious, the expedient of petitioning was renewed. A petition from the county of Buckingham was presented to the House by six thousand subscribers, who promised to live and die in defence of the privileges of Parliament [k]. The city of London, the county of Essex, that of Hertford, Surrey, Berks, imitated the example. A petition from the apprentices was graciously received [l]. Nay, one was encouraged from the porters, whose numbers amounted, as they said, to fifteen thousand [m]. The address of that great body contained the same articles with all the others, the privileges of Parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion of Ireland, the decay of trade. The porters farther desired, that justice might be done upon offenders, as the atrociousness of their crimes had deserved. And they added, *That if such remedies were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying,* "That necessity has no law [n]."

Another petition was presented by several poor people, or beggars, in the name of many thousands more; in which the petitioners proposed as a remedy for the public miseries, *That those noble worthies of the House of Peers, who concur with the happy votes of the Commons, may separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body.* The Commons gave thanks for this petition [o].

The very women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the House; in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the Papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with

[k] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 487. [l] Idem, ibid. p. 462.
[m] Dugdale, p. 87. [n] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 412. [o] Idem, ibid. p. 413.

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those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. They had been necessitated, they said, to imitate the example of the woman of Tekoah: and they claimed equal right with the men, of declaring, by petition, their sense of the public cause; because Christ had purchased them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Christ consists equally the happiness of both sexes. Pym came to the door of the House; and having told the female zealots that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a seasonable time, he begged that their prayers for the success of the Commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were affected! and by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and convulsions!

In the mean time, not only all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were discouraged; but the petitioners were sent for, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents: and this unequal conduct was openly avowed and justified. Whoever desire a change, it was said, must express their sentiments; for how, otherwise, shall they be known? But those who favour the established government in church or state should not petition, because they already enjoy what they wish for [p].

The king had possessed a great party in the Lower House, as appeared in the vote for the remonstrance; and this party, had every new cause of disgust been carefully avoided, would soon have become the majority, from the odium attending the violent measures embraced by the popular leaders. A great majority he always possessed in the House of Peers, even after the bishops were confined or chased away; and this majority could not have been overcome, but by outrages which, in the end, would have drawn disgrace and ruin on those who incited them. By the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, were all these obstacles swept away, and every rampart of royal authority laid level with the ground. The victory was pursued with impetuosity by the sagacious Commons, who knew the importance of a favourable moment in all popular commotions. The terror of their authority they extended over the whole nation;

[p] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 449.

and all opposition, and even all blame, vented in private conversation, were treated as the most atrocious crimes by these severe inquisitors. Scarcely was it permitted to find fault with the conduct of any particular member, if he made a figure in the House; and reflections thrown out on Pym were at this time treated as breaches of privilege. The populace without doors were ready to execute, from the least hint, the will of their leaders; nor was it safe for any member to approach either House, who pretended to control or oppose the general torrent. After so undisguised a manner was this violence conducted, that Hollis, in a speech to the Peers, desired to know the names of such members as should vote contrary to the sentiments of the Commons[q]. And Pym said, in the Lower House, that the people must not be restrained in the expressions of their just desires[r].

By the flight, or terror, or despondency of the king's party, an undisputed majority remained every where to their opponents; and the bills sent up by the Commons, which had hitherto stopped with the Peers, and would certainly have been rejected, now passed, and were presented for the royal assent. These were, the pressing bill with its preamble, and the bill against the votes of the bishops in Parliament. The king's authority was at this time reduced to the lowest ebb. The queen too, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no resource in her husband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. The rage of the people was, on account of her religion, as well as her spirit and activity, universally levelled against her. Usage, the most contumelious, she had hitherto borne with silent indignation. The Commons, in their fury against priests, had seized her very confessor; nor would they release him upon her repeated applications. Even a visit of the prince to his mother had been openly complained of, and remonstrances against it had been presented to her[s]. Apprehensive of attacks still more violent, she was desirous of facilitating her escape; and she prevailed with the king to pass these bills, in hopes of appeasing for a time the rage of the multitude[t].

[q] King's Declar. of the 12th of August, 1642.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 512.
[t] Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 428.

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These new concessions, however important, the king immediately found to have no other effect, than all the preceding ones: they were made the foundation of demands still more exorbitant. From the facility of his disposition, from the weakness of his situation, the Commons believed that he could now refuse them nothing. And they regarded the least moment of relaxation, in their invasion of royal authority, as highly impolitic, during the uninterrupted torrent of their successes. The very moment they were informed of these last acquisitions, they affronted the queen, by opening some intercepted letters, written to her by Lord Digby: they carried up an impeachment against Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his master's commands in accusing their members[u]. And they prosecuted with fresh vigour their plan of the militia, on which they rested all future hopes of an uncontrolled authority.

The Commons were sensible that monarchical government, which, during so many ages, had been established in England, would soon regain some degree of its former dignity, after the present tempest was overblown; nor would all their new-invented limitations be able totally to suppress an authority to which the nation had ever been accustomed. The sword alone, to which all human ordinances must submit, could guard their acquired power, and fully ensure to them personal safety against the rising indignation of their sovereign. This point, therefore, became the chief object of their aims. A large magazine of arms being placed in the town of Hull, they despatched thither Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of an ancient family; and they gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the Parliament. Not content with having obliged the king to displace Lunsford, whom he had appointed governor of the Tower[w], they never ceased soliciting him till he had also displaced Sir John Biron, a man of unexceptionable character, and had bestowed that command on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone they said they could repose con-

[u] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 489. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 385.
[w] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 459.

fidence. After making a fruitless attempt, in which the Peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning, that the people should put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprises of *Papists and other ill-affected persons*[x], they now resolved, by a bold and decisive stroke, to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confer it entirely on their own creatures and adherents.

The severe votes passed in the beginning of this Parliament against lieutenants and their deputies, for exercising powers assumed by all their predecessors, had totally disarmed the crown, and had not left in any magistrate military authority sufficient for the defence and security of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared necessary. A bill was introduced and passed the two Houses, which restored to lieutenants and deputies the same powers of which the votes of the Commons had bereaved them; but at the same time the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill; and these consisted entirely of men in whom the Parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the Parliament.

The policy pursued by the Commons, and which had hitherto succeeded to admiration, was, to astonish the king by the boldness of their enterprises, to intermingle no sweetness with their severity, to employ expressions no less violent than their pretensions, and to make him sensible in what little estimation they held both his person and his dignity. To a bill so destructive of royal authority, they prefixed, with an insolence seemingly wanton, a preamble equally dishonourable to the personal character of the king. These are the words: "Whereas there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody counsels of Papists and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland: and whereas, by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom

[x] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 850.

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of England; but also to back them with forces from abroad [y]," &c.

1642.

Here Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. When this demand was made; a demand which, if granted, the Commons justly regarded as the last they should ever have occasion to make; he was at Dover, attending the queen and the Princess of Orange in their embarkation. He replied, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of so great importance, and must therefore respite his answer till his return [z]. The Parliament in-

Feb. 22.

stantly despatched another message to him, with solicitations still more importunate. They expressed their great grief on account of his majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented, that any delay, during dangers and distractions so great and pressing, was not less unsatisfactory and destructive than an absolute denial. They insisted, that it was their duty to see put in execution a measure so necessary for public safety.

Feb. 28.

And they affirmed, that the people, in many counties, had applied to them for that purpose, and in some places were, of themselves, and by their own authority, providing against those urgent dangers with which they were threatened [a].

Even after this insolence, the king durst not venture upon a flat denial. Besides excepting to the preamble, which threw such dishonour upon him, and protesting the innocence of his intentions when he entered the House of Commons; he only desired that the military authority, if it were defective, should first be conferred upon the crown; and he promised to bestow commissions, but such as should be revocable at pleasure, on the same persons whom the Parliament had named in the bill [b]. By a former message he had expressed his wishes that they would lay before him, in one view, all the concessions which they deemed requisite for the settlement of the nation. They pretended, that they were exposed to perils so dreadful and imminent, that they had not leisure for such a work [c]. The expedient proposed by the king seemed a sufficient remedy during

[y] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 519. [z] Idem, ibid. p. 521. [a] Idem, ibid.
[b] Idem, vol. v. p. 521. [c] Idem, ibid. p. 516, 517.

this emergence; and yet maintained the prerogatives of the crown entire and unbroken. CHAP. LV. 1642.

But the intentions of the Commons were wide of this purpose, and their panics could be cured by one remedy alone. They instantly replied, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both Houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. They asserted, that those parts of the kingdom which had, from their own authority, put themselves in a posture of defence during these prevailing fears and jealousies, had acted suitably to the declarations and directions of both Houses, and conformably to the laws of the kingdom. And while they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where they knew he would be entirely at mercy [d]. 1st March.

"I am so much amazed at this message," said the king in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: and if so, I assure you that this message has nothing lessened them.

"As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

"For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not [e].

"What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me.

"Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue.

[d] Rushworth, part 3. vol. i. chap. 4. p. 523.

[e] Idem, vol. v. p. 524.

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"God so deal with me and mine as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for *my* preservation [f]."

No sooner did the Commons despair of obtaining the king's consent to their bill, than they instantly voted, that those who advised his majesty's answer were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; that this denial is of such dangerous consequence, that if his majesty persist in it, it will hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some speedy remedy be applied by the wisdom and authority of both Houses; and that such of the subjects as have put themselves in a posture of defence against the common danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and approved by the House [g].

Lest the people might be averse to the seconding of all these usurpations, they were plied anew with rumours of danger, with the terrors of invasion, with the dread of English and Irish Papists; and the most unaccountable panics were spread throughout the nation. Lord Digby having entered Kingston in a coach and six, attended by a few livery servants, the intelligence was conveyed to London; and it was immediately voted, that he had appeared in a hostile manner, to the terror and affright of his majesty's subjects, and had levied war against the king and kingdom [h]. Petitions from all quarters loudly demanded of the Parliament to put the nation in a posture of defence; and the county of Stafford, in particular, expressed such dread of an insurrection among the Papists, that every man, they said, was constrained to stand upon his guard, not even daring to go to church unarmed [i].

That the same violence by which he had so long been oppressed might not still reach him, and extort his consent to the militia bill, Charles had resolved to remove farther from London; and accordingly, taking the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York along with him, he arrived, by slow journeys, at York, which he determined

King arrives at York.

[f] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 532. [g] Ibid. part 3. vol. i. chap. 4. p. 524.
[h] Clarendon. Rushw. part 3. vol. i. chap. 2. p. 495. [i] Dugdale, p. 89.

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for some time to make the place of his residence. The distant parts of the kingdom, being removed from that furious vortex of new principles and opinions which had transported the capital, still retained a sincere regard for the church and monarchy; and the king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected [k]. From all quarters of England, the prime nobility and gentry, either personally, or by messages and letters, expressed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery with which they were threatened. The small interval of time which had passed since the fatal accusation of the members, had been sufficient to open the eyes of many, and to recover them from the astonishment with which at first they had been seized. One rash and passionate attempt of the king's seemed but a small counterbalance to so many acts of deliberate violence, which had been offered to him and every branch of the legislature: and however sweet the sound of liberty, many resolved to adhere to that moderate freedom transmitted them from their ancestors, and now better secured by such important concessions; rather than, by engaging in a giddy search after more independence, run manifest risk either of incurring a cruel subjection, or abandoning all law and order.

Charles, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the Commons with a vigour which he had not before exerted. Notwithstanding their remonstrances, and menaces, and insults, he still persisted in refusing their bill; and they proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two Houses, without the king's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation; and, as he professed a resolution strictly to observe the law himself, so was he determined, he said, to oblige every other person to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was essential to all laws, and so familiar in all acts of

[k] Warwick, p. 203.

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executive authority, that the Parliament was afraid, had they totally omitted it, that the innovation would be too sensible to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the persons to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament; and, inventing a distinction, hitherto unheard of, between the office and the person of the king, those very forces which they employed against him, they levied in his name and by his authority[1].

It is remarkable how much the topics of argument were now reversed between the parties. The king, while he acknowledged his former error, of employing a plea of necessity, in order to infringe the laws and constitution, warned the Parliament not to imitate an example on which they threw such violent blame; and the Parliament, while they clothed their personal fears or ambition under the appearance of national and imminent danger, made unknowingly an apology for the most exceptionable part of the king's conduct. That the liberties of the people were no longer exposed to any peril from royal authority, so narrowly circumscribed, so exactly defined, so much unsupported by revenue and by military power, might be maintained upon very plausible topics: but that the danger, allowing it to have any existence, was not of that kind; great, urgent, inevitable; which dissolves all law, and levels all limitations; seems apparent from the simplest view of these transactions. So obvious indeed was the king's present inability to invade the constitution, that the fears and jealousies which operated on the people, and pushed them so furiously to arms, were undoubtedly not of a civil, but of a religious nature. The distempered imaginations of men were agitated with a continual dread of popery, with a horror against prelacy, with an antipathy to ceremonies and the liturgy, and with a violent affection for whatever was most opposite to these objects of aversion. The fanatical spirit let loose, confounded all regard to ease, safety, interest; and dissolved every moral and civil obligation[m].

Each party was now willing to throw on its antagonist the odium of commencing a civil war; but both of them

[1] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 526.

[m] See note [D], at the end of the volume.

prepared for an event which they deemed inevitable. To gain the people's favour and good opinion was the chief point on both sides. Never was there a people less corrupted by vice, and more actuated by principle, than the English during that period: never were there individuals who possessed more capacity, more courage, more public spirit, more disinterested zeal. The infusion of one ingredient, in too large a proportion, had corrupted all these noble principles, and converted them into the most virulent poison. To determine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons proposed on both sides. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Besides private adventurers without number, the king and Parliament themselves carried on the controversy, by messages, remonstrances, and declarations; where the nation was really the party to whom all arguments were addressed. Charles had here a double advantage. Not only his cause was more favourable, as supporting the ancient government in church and state against the most illegal pretensions: it was also defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted the office of secretary: a man who adorned the purest virtue with the richest gifts of nature, and the most valuable acquisitions of learning. By him, assisted by the king himself, were the memorials of the royal party chiefly composed. So sensible was Charles of his superiority in this particular, that he took care to disperse every where the papers of the Parliament together with his own, that the people might be the more enabled, by comparison, to form a judgment between them: the Parliament, while they distributed copies of their own, were anxious to suppress all the king's compositions[n].

To clear up the principles of the constitution, to mark the boundaries of the powers entrusted by law to the several members, to show what great improvements the whole political system had received from the king's late concessions, to demonstrate his entire confidence in his people, and his reliance on their affections, to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made him, and the

[n] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 751.

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enormous encroachments, insults, and indignities, to which he had been exposed; these were the topics which, with so much justness of reasoning and propriety of expression, were insisted on in the king's declarations and remonstrances [o].

Though these writings were of consequence, and tended much to reconcile the nation to Charles, it was evident that they would not be decisive, and that keener weapons must determine the controversy. To the ordinance of the Parliament concerning the militia, the king opposed his commissions of array. The counties obeyed the one or the other, according as they stood affected. And in many counties, where the people were divided, mobbish combats and skirmishes ensued [p]. The Parliament, on this occasion, went so far as to vote, "That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, is a high breach of their privileges [q]." This was a plain assuming of the whole legislative authority, and exerting it in the most material article, the government of the militia. Upon the same principles, they pretended, by a verbal criticism on the tense of a Latin verb, to ravish from the king his negative voice in the legislature [r].

The magazine of Hull contained the arms of all the forces levied against the Scots; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, though he had accepted of a commission from the Parliament, was not thought to be much disaffected to the church and monarchy. Charles, therefore, entertained hopes that, if he presented himself at Hull before the commencement of hostilities, Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his retinue; after which he might easily render himself master of the place. But the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates, and refused to receive the king, who desired leave to enter with twenty persons only. Charles

[o] See note [E], at the end of the volume.

[p] May, book 2. p. 99.

[q] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 534.

[r] The king, by his coronation oath, promises that he would maintain the laws and customs which the people had chosen, *quas vulgus elegerit:* the Parliament pretended that *elegerit* meant *shall choose;* and consequently, that the king had no right to refuse any bills which should be presented him. See Rushworth, vol. v. p. 580.

immediately proclaimed him traitor, and complained to the Parliament of his disobedience. The Parliament avowed and justified the action[s]. CHAP. LV. 1642.

The county of York levied a guard for the king of six hundred men: for the kings of England had hitherto lived among their subjects like fathers among their children, and had derived all their security from the dignity of their character, and from the protection of the laws. The two Houses, though they had already levied a guard for themselves, had attempted to seize all the military power, all the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; and had openly employed their authority in every kind of warlike preparations; yet immediately voted, "That the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war against his Parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person; that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that whoever should assist him in such a war were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom[t]." Preparations.

The armies, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service in Ireland, were henceforth more openly enlisted by the Parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the Earl of Essex. In London, no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day[u]. And the Parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general.

They issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces which should defend the king and both Houses of Parliament: for this style they still preserved. Within ten days, vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. Hardly were there men enough to receive it, or room sufficient to stow it: and many, with regret, were obliged to carry back their offerings, and wait till the treasurers could find leisure to receive them. Such zeal animated the pious 10th June.

[s] Whitlocke, p. 55. Rushw. vol. v. p. 565, &c. May, book 2. p. 51.
[t] Whitlocke, p. 57. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 717. Dugdale, p. 93. May, book 2. p. 54.
[u] Vicar's God in the Mount.

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partisans of the Parliament, especially in the city! The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the *good cause* against the malignants[w].

Meanwhile the splendour of the nobility, with which the king was environed, much eclipsed the appearance at Westminster. Lord-keeper Littleton, after sending the great seal before him, had fled to York. Above forty peers of the first rank attended the king[x]; while the House of Lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. Near the moiety too of the Lower House absented themselves from counsels which they deemed so full of danger. The Commons sent up an impeachment against nine peers, for deserting their duty in Parliament. Their own members, also, who should return to them, they voted not to admit, till satisfied concerning the reason of their absence.

Charles made a declaration to the peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land. The peers answered this declaration by a protest, in which they declared their resolution to obey no commands but such as were warranted by that authority[y]. By these deliberate engagements, so worthy of an English prince and English nobility, they meant to confound the furious and tumultuary resolutions taken by the Parliament.

The queen, disposing of the crown-jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition. Part of these, after escaping many perils, arrived safely to the king. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the Parliament. In order to remove all jealousy, he had resolved, that their usurpations and illegal pretensions should be apparent to the whole world, and thought that to recover the confidence of the people was a point much more material to his interest than the collecting of any magazines, stores, or armies, which might breed apprehensions of violent or illegal counsels. But the urgent necessity of his situation no longer admitted of delay. He now prepared himself

[w] Whitlocke, p. 58. Dugdale, p. 96. 99.
[x] May, book 2. p. 59.
[y] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 626, 627. May, book 2. p. 86. Warwick, p. 210.

for defence. With a spirit, activity, and address, which neither the one party apprehended, nor the other expected, he employed all the advantages which remained to him, and roused up his adherents to arms. The resources of this prince's genius increased in proportion to his difficulties; and he never appeared greater than when plunged into the deepest perils and distresses. From the mixed character, indeed, of Charles, arose in part the misfortunes in which England was at this time involved. His political errors, or rather weaknesses, had raised him inveterate enemies: his eminent moral virtues had procured him zealous partisans: and between the hatred of the one, and the affections of the other, was the nation agitated with the most violent convulsions.

That the king might despair of all composition, the Parliament sent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. They required, that no man should remain in the council, who was not agreeable to Parliament; that no deed of the king's should have validity, unless it passed the council, and was attested under their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of Parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of Parliament or council; that the laws should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should have place according to advice of Parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be submitted to; that the justice of Parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by Parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of Parliament; and that no peer be made but with consent of both Houses [z].

"Should I grant these demands," said the king in reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; and *The king's authority, signified by both Houses*, may

[z] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 722. May, book 2. p. 54.

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still be the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead): but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king [a]." War on any terms was esteemed, by the king and all his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms. "His towns," he said, "were taken from him, his ships, his arms, his money; but there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God's blessing, he doubted not, would recover all the rest." Collecting, therefore, some forces, he advanced southwards; and, at Nottingham, he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom.

25th Aug.

[a] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 728. Warwick, p. 189.

CHAPTER LVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR.—STATE OF PARTIES.—BATTLE OF EDGE-HILL.—NEGOTIATION AT OXFORD.—VICTORIES OF THE ROYALISTS IN THE WEST.—BATTLE OF STRATTON—OF LANSDOWN—OF ROUNDWAY DOWN.—DEATH OF HAMBDEN.—BRISTOL TAKEN.—SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER.—BATTLE OF NEWBURY.—ACTIONS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.—SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.—ARMING OF THE SCOTS.—STATE OF IRELAND.

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Commencement of the civil war.

WHEN two names, so sacred in the English constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition, no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions.

State of parties.

The nobility, and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. Animated with the spirit of loyalty, derived from their ancestors, they adhered to the ancient principles of the constitution, and valued themselves on exerting the maxims, as well as inheriting the possessions, of the old English families: and while they passed their time mostly at their country-seats, they were surprised to hear of opinions prevailing, with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied not a limitation, but an abolition, almost total, of monarchical authority.

The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the Parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The government of cities, which even under absolute monarchies is commonly republican, inclined them to this party: the small hereditary influence, which can be retained over the industrious inhabitants of towns; the natural independence of citizens; and the force of popular currents over those more numerous associations of mankind; all these causes gave, there, authority to the new principles propagated throughout the nation. Many fa-

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milies, too, which had lately been enriched by commerce, saw with indignation, that, notwithstanding their opulence, they could not raise themselves to a level with the ancient gentry; they therefore adhered to a power, by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and consideration[a]: and the new splendour and glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty so happily supported industry, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in England.

The genius of the two religions, so closely at this time interwoven with politics, corresponded exactly to these divisions. The presbyterian religion was new, republican, and suited to the genius of the populace: the other had an air of greater show and ornament, was established on ancient authority, and bore an affinity to the kingly and aristocratical parts of the constitution. The devotees of presbytery became of course zealous partisans of the Parliament: the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy.

Some men also there were of liberal education, who, being either careless or ignorant of those disputes bandied about by the clergy on both sides, aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amidst the jovial entertainment and social intercourse of their companions. All these flocked to the king's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity which reigned among the parliamentary party.

Never was a quarrel more unequal than seemed at first that between the contending parties: almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The king's revenue had been seized, from the beginning, by the Parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his present subsistence: and as soon as he withdrew to York, they totally stopped all payments. London and all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable supply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised from the cities which possessed the ready money, and where men lived under their inspection, than they could be levied by the king

[a] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 4.

in those open countries which after some time declared for him. CHAP. LVI. 1642.

The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports to which they belonged; and the Earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, having embraced the party of the Parliament, had appointed, at their desire, the Earl of Warwick to be his lieutenant, who at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of that assembly.

All the magazines of arms and ammunition were from the first seized by the Parliament; and their fleet intercepted the greater part of those which were sent by the queen from Holland. The king was obliged, in order to arm his followers, to borrow the weapons of the trained bands, under promise of restoring them as soon as peace should be settled in the kingdom.

The veneration for Parliaments was at this time extreme throughout the nation[b]. The custom of reviling those assemblies for corruption, as it had no pretence, so was it unknown, during all former ages. Few or no instances of their encroaching ambition or selfish claims had hitherto been observed. Men considered the House of Commons in no other light than as the representatives of the nation, whose interest was the same with that of the public, who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive, but the necessary defence of the people, could ever engage in an opposition to the crown. The torrent, therefore, of general affection ran to the Parliament. What is the great advantage of popularity, the privilege of affixing epithets, fell of course to that party. The king's adherents were the *Wicked* and the *Malignant:* their adversaries were the *Godly* and the *Well-affected.* And as the force of the cities was more united than that of the country, and at once gave shelter and protection to the parliamentary party, who could easily suppress the royalists in their neighbourhood, almost the whole kingdom, at the commencement of the war, seemed to be in the hands of the Parliament[c].

What alone gave the king some compensation for all the advantages possessed by his adversaries, was the nature and qualities of his adherents. More bravery and activity

[b] Walker, p. 336.

[c] Warwick, p. 318.

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were hoped for, from the generous spirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the base disposition of the multitude; and as the men of estates, at their own expense, levied and armed their tenants, besides an attachment to their masters, greater force and courage were to be expected in these rustic troops, than in the vicious and enervated populace of cities.

The neighbouring states of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little interested themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. France, from policy, had fomented the first disorders in Scotland; had sent over arms to the Irish rebels; and continued to give countenance to the English Parliament: Spain, from bigotry, furnished the Irish with some supplies of money and arms. The Prince of Orange, closely allied to the crown, encouraged English officers, who served in the Low Countries, to enlist in the king's army: the Scottish officers, who had been formed in Germany, and in the late commotions, chiefly took part with the Parliament.

The contempt entertained by the Parliament for the king's party was so great, that it was the chief cause of pushing matters to such extremities against him; and many believed that he never would attempt resistance, but must soon yield to the pretensions, however enormous, of the two Houses. Even after his standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend the danger of a civil war; nor was it imagined that he would have the imprudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was so much superior. The low condition in which he appeared at Nottingham confirmed all these hopes. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the country, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not gotten together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the Parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days' march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and

well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon him, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled. By pursuing him in his retreat, they had so discredited his cause, and discouraged his adherents, as to have for ever prevented his collecting an army able to make head against them. But the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters[d]. What rendered them so backward, after such precipitate steps as they had formerly taken, is not easily explained. It is probable, that in the extreme distress of his party consisted the present safety of the king. The Parliament hoped, that the royalists, sensible of their feeble condition, and convinced of their slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a victory, so much the more complete and secure, as it would be gained without the appearance of force, and without bloodshed. Perhaps too, when it became necessary to make the concluding step, and offer barefaced violence to their sovereign, their scruples and apprehensions, though not sufficient to overcome their resolutions, were able to retard the execution of them[e].

Sir Jacob Astley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his intended army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. All the king's attendants were full of well-grounded apprehensions. Some of the lords having desired that a message might be sent to the Parliament with overtures to a treaty, Charles, who well knew that an accommodation, in his present condition, meant nothing but a total submission, hastily broke up the council, lest this proposal should be farther insisted on. But next day, the Earl of Southampton, whom no one could suspect of base or timid sentiments, having offered the same advice in council, it was hearkened to with more coolness and deliberation. He urged, that though such a step would probably increase the insolence of the Parliament, this was so far from being an objection, that such dispositions must necessarily turn to the advantage of the royal cause: that if they refused to treat, which was more probable,

[d] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 1, 2.

[e] Idem, ibid. p. 18.

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the very sound of peace was so popular, that nothing could more disgust the nation than such haughty severity: that if they admitted of a treaty, their proposals, considering their present situation, would be so exorbitant as to open the eyes of their most partial adherents, and turn the general favour to the king's party: and that, at worst, time might be gained by this expedient, and a delay of the imminent danger with which the king was at present threatened[f].

Charles, on assembling the council, had declared against all advances towards an accommodation; and had said, that, having nothing now left him but his honour, this last possession he was resolved steadily to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of his enemies[g]. But, by the unanimous desire of the counsellors, he was prevailed on to embrace Southampton's advice. That nobleman, therefore, with Sir John Colepeper and Sir William Uvedale, was despatched to London, with offers of a treaty[h]. The manner in which they were received gave little hopes of success. Southampton was not allowed by the Peers to take his seat; but was ordered to deliver his message to the usher, and immediately to depart the city: the Commons showed little better disposition towards Colepeper and Uvedale[i]. Both Houses replied, that they could admit of no treaty with the king, till he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the Parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. The king, by a second message, denied any such intention against the two Houses; but offered to recall these proclamations, provided the Parliament agreed to recall theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They desired him, in return, to dismiss his forces, to reside with his Parliament, and to give up delinquents to their justice; that is, abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies[k]. Both parties flattered themselves, that, by these messages and replies, they had gained the ends which they proposed[l]. The king believed that the people were made sufficiently sensible of the Parliament's inso-

[f] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 7.
[g] Idem, ibid.
[h] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 784.
[i] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 10.
[k] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 786. Dugdale, p. 102.
[l] Whitlocke, p. 59.

lence and aversion to peace: the Parliament intended, by this vigour in their resolutions, to support the vigour of their military operations.' CHAP. LVI. 1642.

The courage of the Parliament was increased, besides their great superiority of force, by two recent events, which had happened in their favour. Goring was governor of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, and by its situation of great importance. This man seemed to have rendered himself an implacable enemy to the king, by betraying, probably magnifying, the secret cabals of the army; and the Parliament thought that his fidelity to them might, on that account, be entirely depended on. But the same levity of mind still attended him, and the same disregard to engagements and professions. He took underhand his measures with the court, and declared against the Parliament. But though he had been sufficiently supplied with money, and long before knew his danger, so small was his foresight, that he had left the place entirely destitute of provisions, and in a few days he was obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces[m].

The Marquis of Hertford was a nobleman of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, and, equally with the king, descended, by a female, from Henry VII. During the reign of James he had attempted, without having obtained the consent of that monarch, to marry Arabella Stuart, a lady nearly related to the crown; and, upon discovery of his intentions, had been obliged, for some time, to fly the kingdom. Ever after, he was looked on with an evil eye at court, from which, in a great measure, he withdrew; and living in an independent manner, he addicted himself entirely to literary occupations and amusements. In proportion as the king declined in popularity, Hertford's character flourished with the people; and when this Parliament assembled, no nobleman possessed more general favour and authority. By his sagacity, he soon perceived that the Commons, not content with correcting the abuses of government, were carried, by the natural current of power and popularity, into the opposite extreme, and were committing violations, no less dangerous than the former,

[m] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 683. Whitlocke, p. 60. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 19.

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upon the English constitution. Immediately he devoted himself to the support of the king's falling authority, and was prevailed with to be governor to the young prince, and reside at court, to which, in the eyes of all men, he gave, by his presence, a new lustre and authority. So high was his character for mildness and humanity, that he still preserved, by means of these popular virtues, the public favour; and every one was sensible of the true motive of his change. Notwithstanding his habits of ease and study, he now exerted himself in raising an army for the king; and being named general of the western counties, where his interest chiefly lay, he began to assemble forces in Somersetshire. By the assistance of Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, John Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, Sir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together some appearance of an army; when the Parliament, apprehensive of the danger, sent the Earl of Bedford with a considerable force against him. On his approach, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne castle; and finding that place untenable, he himself passed over into Wales, leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley, Digby, and other officers, with their horse, consisting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that county better prepared for their reception[n].

All the dispersed bodies of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the Earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to fifteen thousand men [o]. The king, though his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was sensible that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force: and he thought it prudent, by slow marches, to retire to Derby, thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of every regiment. That he might bind himself by reciprocal ties, he solemnly made the following declaration before his whole army:

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and

[n] Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 2, 3, &c.

[o] Whitlocke, p. 60.

as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, established in the church of England, and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this Parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergence, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above; but in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of heaven [p]."

Though the concurrence of the church undoubtedly increased the king's adherents, it may safely be affirmed, that the high monarchical doctrines, so much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any real service. The bulk of that generous train of nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distresses, breathed the spirit of liberty, as well as of loyalty; and in the hopes alone of his submitting to a legal and limited government, were they willing, in his defence, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes.

While the king's army lay at Shrewsbury, and he was employing himself in collecting money, which he received, though in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the universities, which was sent him,

[p] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 16, 17. Dugdale, p. 104.

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the news arrived of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and where he was successful.

On the appearance of commotions in England, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate Palatine, had offered their service to the king; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. No sooner had the prince arrived, than he saw some cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. Without delay, he briskly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane, and forming themselves. Colonel Sandys, who led them, and who fought with valour, being mortally wounded, fell from his horse. The whole party was routed, and was pursued above a mile. The prince, hearing of Essex's approach, returned to the main body[q]. This rencounter, though in itself of small importance, mightily raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired to Prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

The king, on mustering his army, found it amount to ten thousand men. The Earl of Lindesey, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low Countries[r], was general: Prince Rupert commanded the horse: Sir Jacob Astley, the foot; Sir Arthur Aston, the dragoons; Sir John Heydon, the artillery. Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards. The estates and revenue of this single troop, according to Lord Clarendon's computation, were at least equal to those of all the members, who, at the commencement of war, voted in both Houses. Their servants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their masters[s].

12th Oct.

With this army the king left Shrewsbury, resolving to give battle as soon as possible to the army of the Parliament, which, he heard, was continually augmenting by supplies from London. In order to bring on an action, he directed his march towards the capital, which he knew

[q] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 25. May, book 3. p. 10.
[r] He was then Lord Willoughby.
[s] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 41. Warwick, p. 231.

the enemy would not abandon to him. Essex had now received his instructions. The import of them was, to present a most humble petition to the king, and to rescue him and the royal family from those desperate malignants who had seized their persons [t]. Two days after the departure of the royalists from Shrewsbury, he left Worcester. Though it be commonly easy in civil wars to get intelligence, the armies were within six miles of each other, ere either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy. Shrewsbury and Worcester, the places from which they set out, are not above twenty miles distant; yet had the two armies marched ten days in this mutual ignorance. So much had military skill, during a long peace, decayed in England [u].

Battle of Edge-hill. 23d Oct.

The royal army lay near Banbury; that of the Parliament at Keinton, in the county of Warwick. Prince Rupert sent intelligence of the enemy's approach. Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack: Essex drew up his men to receive him. Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish wars, had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now posted on the left wing, commanded by Ramsay, a Scotchman. No sooner did the king's army approach, than Fortescue, ordering his troops to discharge their pistols in the ground, put himself under the command of Prince Rupert. Partly from this incident, partly from the furious shock made upon them by the prince, that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were pursued for two miles. The right wing of the Parliament's army had no better success. Chased from their ground by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aston, they also took to flight. The king's body of reserve, commanded by Sir John Biron, judging, like raw soldiers, that all was over, and impatient to have some share in the action, heedlessly followed the chase which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Balfour, who commanded Essex's reserve, perceived the advantage: he wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now quite unfurnished of horse, and he made great havoc among them. Lindesey, the general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. His son,

[t] Whitlocke, p. 59. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 27, 28, &c.
[u] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 44.

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endeavouring his rescue, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the king's standard, was killed, and the standard taken; but it was afterwards recovered. In this situation, Prince Rupert, on his return, found affairs. Every thing bore the appearance of a defeat instead of a victory, with which he had hastily flattered himself. Some advised the king to leave the field: but that prince rejected such pusillanimous counsel. The two armies faced each other for some time, and neither of them retained courage sufficient for a new attack. All night they lay under arms, and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. General, as well as soldier, on both sides, seemed averse to renew the battle. Essex first drew off, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle; and the loss of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the opposite accounts, was nearly equal. Such was the event of this first battle, fought at Keinton, or Edge-hill [w].

Some of Essex's horse, who had been driven off the field in the beginning of the action, flying to a great distance, carried news of a total defeat, and struck a mighty terror into the city and Parliament. After a few days, a more just account arrived; and then the Parliament pretended to a complete victory [x]. The king also, on his part, was not wanting to display his advantages; though, except the taking of Banbury, a few days after, he had few marks of victory to boast of. He continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion.

After the royal army was recruited and refreshed, as the weather still continued favourable, it was again put in motion. A party of horse approached to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the Parliament. Both governor and garrison were seized with a panic, and fled with precipitation to London. The king, hoping that every thing would yield before him, advanced with his whole army to Reading. The Parliament, who, instead of their fond expectations, that Charles would never be able to collect an army, had now the prospect

[w] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 44, &c. May, book 3. p. 16, &c.
[x] Whitlocke, p. 61. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 59.

of a civil war, bloody and of uncertain event, were farther alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance. They voted an address for a treaty. The king's nearer approach to Colebroke quickened their advances for a peace. Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, presented the address of both Houses; in which they besought his majesty to appoint some convenient place where he might reside till committees could attend him with proposals. The king named Windsor, and desired that their garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle [y]. CHAP. LVI. 1642.

Meanwhile Essex, advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hope of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked, at Brentford, two regiments quartered there, and after a sharp action beat them from that village, and took about five hundred prisoners. The Parliament had sent orders to forbear all hostilities, and had expected the same from the king; though no stipulation to that purpose had been mentioned by their commissioners. Loud complaints were raised against this attack, as if it had been the most apparent perfidy, and breach of treaty [z]. Inflamed with resentment, as well as anxious for its own safety, the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Essex. The parliamentary army now amounted to above twenty-four thousand men, and was much superior to that of the king [a]. After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off and retired to Reading, thence to Oxford. 30th Nov.

While the principal armies on both sides were kept in inaction by the winter season, the king and Parliament were employed in real preparations for war, and in seeming advances towards peace. By means of contributions or assessments, levied by the horse, Charles maintained his cavalry: by loans and voluntary presents, sent him from all parts of the kingdom, he supported his infantry: but the supplies were still very unequal to the necessities under which he laboured [b]. The Parliament had much

[y] Whitlocke, p. 62. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 73.
[z] Whitlocke, p. 62. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 75.
[a] Whitlocke, p. 62.
[b] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 87.

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1642. greater resources for money; and had, by consequence, every military preparation in much greater order and abundance. Besides an imposition levied in London, amounting to the five-and-twentieth part of every one's substance, they established on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen on the rest of the kingdom [c]; and as their authority was at present established in most counties, they levied these taxes with regularity, though they amounted to sums much greater than the nation had formerly paid to the public.

1643. Negotiation at Oxford. The king and Parliament sent reciprocally their demands; and a treaty commenced, but without any cessation of hostilities, as had at first been proposed. The Earl of Northumberland, and four members of the Lower House, came to Oxford as commissioners [d]. In this treaty, the king perpetually insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative [e]: the Parliament still required new concessions, and a farther abridgment of regal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealousies. Finding the king supported by more forces and a greater party than they had ever looked for, they seemingly abated somewhat of those extravagant conditions which they had formerly claimed; but their demands were still too high for an equal treaty. Besides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they required the king in express terms utterly to abolish episcopacy; a demand which before they had only insinuated: and they required, that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by *their* assembly of divines; that is, in the manner most repugnant to the inclinations of the king and all his partisans. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful adherents. And they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword. In answer to the king's proposal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ships, should be restored to him, the Parliament required, that they should

[c] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 171. [d] Whitlocke, p. 64.
[e] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 202.

be put into such hands as they could confide in[f]. The nineteen propositions, which they formerly sent to the king, showed their *inclination* to abolish monarchy: they only asked, at present, the *power* of doing it. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treason, by levying war against their sovereign; it is evident that their fears and jealousies must, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their personal safety, which they interwove with the safety of the nation, still more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. Though the gentleness and lenity of the king's temper might have ensured them against schemes of future vengeance; they preferred, as is, no doubt, natural, an independent security, accompanied, too, with sovereign power, to the station of subjects, and that not entirely guarded from all apprehensions of danger[g].

The conferences went no farther than the first demand on each side. The Parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

A military enterprise, which they had concerted early in the spring, was immediately undertaken. Reading, the garrison of the king's which lay nearest to London, was esteemed a place of considerable strength in that age, when the art of attacking towns was not well understood in Europe, and was totally unknown in England. The Earl of Essex sat down before this place with an army of eighteen thousand men; and carried on the siege by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being wounded, Colonel Fielding succeeded to the command. In a little time the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence; and though the king approached, with an intention of obliging Essex to raise the siege, the disposition of the parliamentary army was so strong, as rendered the design impracticable. Fielding, therefore, was contented to yield the town, on condition that he should bring off all the garrison with the honours of war, and deliver up deserters. This last article was thought so ignominious and so prejudicial to the king's interests, that the governor was tried by a

15th April.

27th April.

f Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 166. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 119.
g See note [F], at the end of the volume.

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council of war, and condemned to lose his life for consenting to it. His sentence was afterwards remitted by the king [h].

Essex's army had been fully supplied with all necessaries from London; even many superfluities and luxuries were sent them by the care of the zealous citizens: yet the hardships which they suffered from the siege, during so early a season, had weakened them to such a degree, that they were no longer fit for any new enterprise. And the two armies, for some time, encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, without attempting, on either side, any action of moment.

Besides the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the centre of England; each county, each town, each family almost, was divided within itself; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Throughout the winter, continual efforts had every where been made by each party to surmount its antagonist; and the English, roused from the lethargy of peace, with eager though unskilful hands, employed against their fellow-citizens their long-neglected weapons. The furious zeal for liberty and presbyterian discipline, which had hitherto run uncontrolled throughout the nation, now at last excited an equal ardour for monarchy and episcopacy, when the intention of abolishing these ancient modes of government was openly avowed by the Parliament. Conventions for neutrality, though in several counties they had been entered into, and confirmed by the most solemn oaths, yet being voted illegal by the two Houses, were immediately broken [i]; and the fire of discord was spread into every quarter. The altercation of discourse, the controversies of the pen, but, above all, the declamations of the pulpit, indisposed the minds of men towards each other, and propagated the blind rage of party [k]. Fierce, however, and inflamed as were the dispositions of the English, by a war both civil and religious, that great destroyer of humanity; all the events of this period are less distinguished by atrocious deeds, either of treachery or cruelty, than were ever any intestine discords which had so long a continuance: a circumstance

[h] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 265, &c. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 237, 238, &c.
[i] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 137. 139.
[k] Dugdale, p. 95.

which will be found to reflect great praise on the national character of that people, now so unhappily roused to arms.

In the north, Lord Fairfax commanded for the Parliament, the Earl of Newcastle for the king. The latter nobleman began those associations which were afterwards so much practised in other parts of the kingdom. He united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric, and engaged, some time after, other counties in the same association. Finding that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham, and the garrison of Hull, was making progress in the southern parts of Yorkshire; he advanced with a body of four thousand men, and took possession of York. At Tadcaster, he attacked the forces of the Parliament, and dislodged them; but his victory was not decisive. In other rencounters he obtained some inconsiderable advantages. But the chief benefit which resulted from his enterprises was, the establishing of the king's authority in all the northern provinces.

In another part of the kingdom, Lord Broke was killed by a shot, while he was taking possession of Lichfield for the Parliament [l]. After a short combat, near Stafford, between the Earl of Northampton and Sir John Gell, the former, who commanded the king's forces, was killed, while he fought with great valour; and his forces, discouraged by his death, though they had obtained the advantage in the action, retreated into the town of Stafford [m].

Sir William Waller began to distinguish himself among the generals of the Parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterprising, he was fitted by his genius to the nature of the war; which, being managed by raw troops, conducted by unexperienced commanders, afforded success to every bold and sudden undertaking. After taking Winchester and Chichester,

[l] He had taken possession of Lichfield, and was viewing from a window St. Chad's Cathedral, in which a party of the royalists had fortified themselves. He was cased in complete armour, but was shot through the eye by a random ball. Lord Broke was a zealous puritan; and had formerly said, that he hoped to see with his eyes the ruin of all the cathedrals of England. It was a superstitious remark of the royalists, that he was killed on St. Chad's day by a shot from St. Chad's cathedral, which pierced that very eye by which he hoped to see the ruin of all cathedrals. Dugdale, p. 118. Clarendon, &c.

[m] Whitlocke, p. 66. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 152. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 151.

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he advanced towards Gloucester, which was in a manner blockaded by Lord Herbert, who had levied considerable forces in Wales for the royal party[n]. While he attacked the Welsh on one side, a sally from Gloucester made impression on the other. Herbert was defeated; five hundred of his men killed on the spot; a thousand taken prisoners; and he himself escaped with some difficulty to Oxford. Hereford, esteemed a strong town, defended by a considerable garrison, was surrendered to Waller, from the cowardice of Colonel Price, the governor. Tewkesbury underwent the same fate. Worcester refused him admittance; and Waller, without placing any garrisons in his new conquests, retired to Gloucester, and he thence joined the army under the Earl of Essex[o].

Victories of the royalists in the west.

But the most remarkable actions of valour, during this winter season, were performed in the west. When Sir Ralph Hopton, with his small troop, retired into Cornwall before the Earl of Bedford, that nobleman, despising so inconsiderable a force, abandoned the pursuit, and committed the care of suppressing the royal party to the sheriffs of the county. But the affections of Cornwall were much inclined to the king's service. While Sir Richard Buller and Sir Alexander Carew lay at Launceston, and employed themselves in executing the Parliament's ordinance for the militia, a meeting of the county was assembled at Truro; and after Hopton produced his commission from the Earl of Hertford, the king's general, it was agreed to execute the laws, and to expel these invaders of the county. The train-bands were accordingly levied, Launceston taken, and all Cornwall reduced to peace and to obedience under the king.

It had been usual for the royal party, on the commencement of these disorders, to claim, on all occasions, the strict execution of the laws, which they knew were favourable to them; and the Parliament, rather than have recourse to the plea of necessity, and avow the transgression of any statute, had also been accustomed to warp the laws, and by forced constructions to interpret them in their own favour[p]. But though the king was naturally the gainer by such a method of conducting

[n] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 92. 100.
[o] Idem, ibid. p. 263.
[p] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 130.

war, and it was by favour of law that the train-bands were raised in Cornwall; it appeared that those maxims were now prejudicial to the royal party. These troops could not legally, without their own consent, be carried out of the county; and consequently, it was impossible to push into Devonshire the advantage which they had obtained. The Cornish royalists, therefore, bethought themselves of levying a force which might be more serviceable. Sir Bevil Granville, the most beloved man of that country, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, undertook, at their own charges, to raise an army for the king; and their great interest in Cornwall soon enabled them to effect their purpose. The Parliament, alarmed at this appearance of the royalists, gave commission to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and make an entire conquest of Cornwall. The Earl of Stamford followed him at some distance with a considerable supply. Ruthven, having entered Cornwall by bridges thrown over the Tamar, hastened to an action, lest Stamford should join him, and obtain the honour of that victory which he looked for with assurance. The royalists, in like manner, were impatient to bring the affair to a decision before Ruthven's army should receive so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Bradoc Down; and the king's forces, though inferior in number, gave a total defeat to their enemies. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, fled to Saltash; and when that town was taken, he escaped with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth. Stamford retired, and distributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the extreme want both of money and ammunition under which the Cornish royalists laboured, obliged them to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire; and this neutrality held all the winter season. In the spring it was broken by the authority of the two Houses; and war recommenced with great appearance of disadvantage to the king's party. Stamford having assembled a strong body of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, provisions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number,

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1643. Battle of Stratton. 16th May.

and were oppressed by every kind of necessity. Despair, joined to the natural gallantry of these troops, commanded by the prime gentry of the county, made them resolve, by one vigorous effort, to overcome all these advantages. Stamford being encamped on the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four divisions, at five in the morning, having lain all night under arms. One division was commanded by Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley, a third by Slanning and Trevannion, a fourth by Basset and Godolphin. In this manner the action began; the king's forces pressing with vigour those four ways up the hill, and their enemies obstinately defending themselves. The fight continued with doubtful success, till word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder. This defect, which they concealed from the soldiers, they resolved to supply by their valour. They agreed to advance without firing till they should reach the top of the hill, and could be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists began on all sides to gain ground. Major-General Childley, who commanded the parliamentary army, (for Stamford kept at a distance,) failed not in his duty; and when he saw his men recoil, he himself advanced with a good stand of pikes, and piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was at last overpowered by numbers, and taken prisoner. His army, upon this disaster, gave ground apace; insomuch that the four parties of the royalists, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended, at last met together upon the plain at the top; where they embraced with great joy, and signalized their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations [q].

After this success, the attention both of king and Parliament was turned towards the west, as to a very important scene of action. The king sent thither the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with a reinforcement of cavalry; who having joined the Cornish army, soon overran the county of Devon; and advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience.

[q] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 267. 273. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 269. 279.

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On the other hand, the Parliament having supplied Sir William Waller, in whom they much trusted, with a complete army, despatched him westwards, in order to check the progress of the royalists. After some skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event[r]. The gallant Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some powder, was dangerously hurt. The royalists next attempted to march eastwards, and to join their forces to the king's at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was resolved, that Hertford and Prince Maurice should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, should hasten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was so confident of taking this body of infantry, now abandoned by the horse, that he wrote to the Parliament that their work was done, and that by the next post he would inform them of the number and quality of their prisoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had prepared a considerable body of cavalry, which he immediately despatched to their succour under the command of Lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, and prevent his conjunction with the Cornish infantry, was received with equal valour by the royalists. After a sharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot, seizing the enemy's cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, drove them off the field, and routed and dispersed the whole army[s].

1643. Battle of Lansdown. 5th July.

Battle of Round-way-down. 13th July.

This important victory following so quick after many other successes, struck great dismay into the Parliament,

[r] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 284. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 282.
[s] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 285. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 291.

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and gave an alarm to their principal army commanded by Essex. Waller exclaimed loudly against that general, for allowing Wilmot to pass him, and proceed without any interruption to the succour of the distressed infantry at the Devizes. But Essex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the siege of Reading, was resolved to remain upon the defensive; and the weakness of the king, and his want of all military stores, had also restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish, which of itself was of no great consequence, and was rendered memorable by the death alone of the famous Hambden.

Colonel Urrey, a Scotsman, who served in the parliamentary army, having received some disgust, came to Oxford, and offered his services to the king. In order to prove the sincerity of his conversion, he informed Prince Rupert of the loose disposition of the enemy's quarters, and exhorted him to form some attempt upon them. The prince, who was entirely fitted for that kind of service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horseback, in order to pursue the prince, to recover the prisoners, and to repair the disgrace which the army had sustained. Among the rest, Hambden, who had a regiment of infantry that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer; and overtaking the royalists on Chalgrave field, entered into the thickest of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off; and a great booty, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was, the expectation that some disaster had happened to Hambden, their capital and much dreaded enemy. One of the prisoners taken in the action said, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field, before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken.

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1643. Death of Hambden.

Some days after, he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound; nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been thrown into greater consternation. The king himself so highly valued him, that, either from generosity or policy, he intended to have sent him his own surgeon to assist at his cure [t].

Many were the virtues and talents of this eminent personage; and his valour, during the war, had shone out with a lustre equal to that of the other accomplishments by which he had ever been distinguished. Affability in conversation; temper, art, and eloquence in debate; penetration and discernment in counsel; industry, vigilance, and enterprise in action; all these praises are unanimously ascribed to him by historians of the most opposite parties. His virtues too, and integrity, in all the duties of private life, are allowed to have been beyond exception: we must only be cautious, notwithstanding his generous zeal for liberty, not hastily to ascribe to him the praises of a good citizen. Through all the horrors of civil war, he sought the abolition of monarchy, and subversion of the constitution; an end which, had it been attainable by peaceful measures, ought carefully to have been avoided by every lover of his country. But whether, in the pursuit of this violent enterprise, he was actuated by private ambition, or by honest prejudices, derived from the former exorbitant powers of royalty, it belongs not to an historian of this age, scarcely even to an intimate friend, positively to determine [u].

Essex, discouraged by this event, dismayed by the total rout of Waller, was farther informed, that the queen, who landed in Burlington-bay, had arrived at Oxford, and had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Dislodging from Thame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, he thought proper to retreat nearer to London; and he showed to his friends his broken and disheartened forces, which a few months before he had led into the field in so flourishing a condition. The king, freed from this enemy, sent his army westward under Prince Rupert, and, by their conjunction with the Cornish troops, a formidable force,

[t] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 241. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 264.
[u] See note [G], at the end of the volume.

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for numbers as well as reputation and valour, was composed. That an enterprise correspondent to men's expectations might be undertaken, the prince resolved to lay siege to Bristol, the second town for riches and greatness in the kingdom. Nathaniel Fiennes, son of Lord Say, he himself, as well as his father, a great parliamentary leader, was governor, and commanded a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and two regiments, one of horse, another of dragoons. The fortifications not being complete or regular, it was resolved by Prince Rupert to storm the city; and next morning, with little other provisions suitable to such a work, besides the courage of the troops, the assault began. The Cornish, in three divisions, attacked the west side, with a resolution which nothing could control: but though the middle division had already mounted the wall, so great was the disadvantage of the ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that in the end the assailants were repulsed with a considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. On the prince's side, the assault was conducted with equal courage, and almost with equal loss, but with better success. One party, led by Lord Grandison, was indeed beaten off, and the commander himself mortally wounded. Another, conducted by Colonel Bellasis, met with a like fate: but Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain weaker than the rest, broke in, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. By this irruption, however, nothing but the suburbs was yet gained: the entrance into the town was still more difficult: and by the loss already sustained, as well as by the prospect of farther danger, every one was extremely discouraged: when, to the great joy of the army, the city beat a parley. The garrison was allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. For this instance of cowardice, Fiennes was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to lose his head; but the sentence was remitted by the general [w].

Bristol taken. 25th July.

Great complaints were made of violences exercised on the garrison, contrary to the capitulation. An apology was made by the royalists, as if these were a retaliation

[w] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 284. · Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 293, 294, &c.

for some violences committed on their friends at the surrender of Reading. And under pretence of like retaliations, but really from the extreme animosity of the parties, were such irregularities continued during the whole course of the war [x].

The loss sustained by the royalists in the assault of Bristol was considerable. Five hundred excellent soldiers perished. Among those of condition were Grandison, Slanning, Trevannion, and Moyle; Bellasis, Ashley, and Sir John Owen, were wounded. Yet was the success, upon the whole, so considerable, as mightily raised the courage of the one party, and depressed that of the other. The king, to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor aspired to a total victory over the Parliament, published a manifesto; in which he renewed the protestation, formerly taken, with great solemnity, at the head of his army, and expressed his firm intention of making peace upon the re-establishment of the constitution. Having joined the camp at Bristol, and sent Prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire, he deliberated how to employ the remaining forces in an enterprise of moment. Some proposed, and seemingly with reason, to march directly to London; where every thing was in confusion, where the army of the Parliament was baffled, weakened, and dismayed, and where, it was hoped, either by an insurrection of the citizens, by victory, or by treaty, a speedy end might be put to the civil disorders. But this undertaking, by reason of the great number and force of the London militia, was thought by many to be attended with considerable difficulties. Gloucester, lying within twenty miles, presented an easier, yet a very important conquest. It was the only remaining garrison possessed by the Parliament in those parts. Could that city be reduced, the king held the whole course of the Severn under his command; the rich and malecontent counties of the west, having lost all protection from their friends, might be forced to pay high contributions as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication could be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and half of the kingdom, being entirely freed from the enemy, and thus united

[x] Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 297.

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into one firm body, might be employed in re-establishing the king's authority throughout the remainder. These were the reasons for embracing that resolution, fatal as it was ever esteemed to the royal party[y].

Siege of Gloucester.

The governor of Gloucester was one Massey, a soldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the Parliament, had offered his service to the king; and as he was free from the fumes of enthusiasm, by which most of the officers on that side were intoxicated, he would lend an ear, it was presumed, to proposals for accommodation: but Massey was resolute to preserve an entire fidelity to his masters; and though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit so

10th Aug.

prevalent in his city and garrison. The summons to surrender allowed two hours for an answer: but before that time expired, there appeared before the king two citizens, with lean, pale, sharp, and dismal visages; faces, so strange and uncouth, according to Lord Clarendon; figures, so habited and accoutred, as at once moved the most severe countenance to mirth, and the most cheerful heart to sadness. It seemed impossible that such messengers could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstance of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, that they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester; and extremely ready were they, according to the historian, to give insolent and seditious replies to any question; as if their business were chiefly, by provoking the king, to make him violate his own safe conduct. The answer from the city was in these words: "We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and of his royal posterity; and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly[z]." After these preliminaries the

[y] Whitlocke, p. 69. May, book 3. p. 91.

[z] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 287. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 315. May, book 3, p. 96.

siege was resolutely undertaken by the army, and as resolutely sustained by the citizens and garrison.

When intelligence of the siege of Gloucester arrived in London, the consternation among the inhabitants was as great as if the enemy were already at their gates. The rapid progress of the royalists threatened the Parliament with immediate subjection: the factions and discontents among themselves in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, prognosticated some dangerous division or insurrection. Those parliamentary leaders, it must be owned, who had introduced such mighty innovations into the English constitution, and who had projected so much greater, had not engaged in an enterprise which exceeded their courage and capacity. Great vigour from the beginning, as well as wisdom, they had displayed in all their counsels; and a furious, headstrong body, broken loose from the restraint of law, had hitherto been retained in subjection under their authority, and firmly united by zeal and passion, as by the most legal and established government. A small committee, on whom the two Houses devolved their power, had directed all their military operations, and had preserved a secrecy in deliberation, and a promptitude in execution, beyond what the king, notwithstanding the advantages possessed by a single leader, had ever been able to attain. Sensible that no jealousy was by their partisans entertained against them, they had on all occasions exerted an authority much more despotic than the royalists, even during the pressing exigencies of war, could with patience endure in their sovereign. Whoever incurred their displeasure, or was exposed to their suspicions, was committed to prison, and prosecuted under the notion of delinquency. After all the old jails were full, many new ones were erected; and even the ships were crowded with the royalists, both gentry and clergy, who languished below decks, and perished in those unhealthy confinements. They imposed taxes, the heaviest, and of the most unusual nature, by an ordinance of the two Houses: they voted a commission for sequestrations; and they seized, wherever they had power, the revenues of all the king's party[a]: and knowing that themselves and all their

[a] The king afterwards copied from this example; but, as the far greater part

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adherents were, by resisting the prince, exposed to the penalties of law, they resolved, by a severe administration, to overcome these terrors, and to retain the people in obedience, by penalties of a more immediate execution. In the beginning of this summer, a combination, formed against them in London, had obliged them to exert the plenitude of their authority.

Edmund Waller, the first refiner of English versification, was a member of the Lower House; a man of considerable fortune, and not more distinguished by his poetical genius than by his parliamentary talents, and by the politeness and elegance of his manners. As full of keen satire and invective in his eloquence, as of tenderness and panegyric in his poetry, he caught the attention of his hearers, and exerted the utmost boldness in blaming those violent counsels, by which the Commons were governed. Finding all opposition within doors to be fruitless, he endeavoured to form a party without, which might oblige the Parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. The charms of his conversation, joined to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him the entire confidence of Northumberland, Conway, and every eminent person of either sex who resided in London. They opened their breasts to him without reserve, and expressed their disapprobation of the furious measures pursued by the Commons, and their wishes that some expedient could be found for stopping so impetuous a career. Tomkins, Waller's brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had entertained like sentiments: and as the connexions of these two gentlemen lay chiefly in the city, they informed Waller, that the same abhorrence of war prevailed there among all men of reason and moderation. Upon reflection it seemed not impracticable that a combination might be formed between the lords and citizens; and, by mutual concert, the illegal taxes be refused, which the Parliament, without the royal assent, imposed on the people. While this affair was in agitation, and lists were making of such as they conceived to be well affected to their design, a servant of Tomkins, who had overheard

of the nobility and landed gentry were his friends, he reaped much less profit from this measure.

their discourse, immediately carried intelligence to Pym. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were seized, and tried by a court-martial[b]. They were all three condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. A covenant, as a test, was taken[c] by the Lords and Commons, and imposed on their army, and on all who lived within their quarters. Besides resolving to amend and reform their lives, the covenanters there vow, that they will never lay down their arms so long as the Papists, now in open war against the Parliament, shall, by force of arms, be protected from justice; they express their abhorrence of the late conspiracy; and they promise to assist to the utmost the forces raised by both Houses against the forces levied by the king[d].

Waller, as soon as imprisoned, sensible of the great danger into which he had fallen, was so seized with the dread of death, that all his former spirit deserted him: and he confessed whatever he knew, without sparing his most intimate friends, without regard to the confidence reposed in him, without distinguishing between the negligence of familiar conversation and the schemes of a regular conspiracy. With the most profound dissimulation, he counterfeited such remorse of conscience, that his execution was put off, out of mere Christian compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy of all sects; and while he expressed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information than in his life he had ever before attained. Presents too, of which, as well as of flattery, these holy men were not insensible, were distributed among them; as a small retribution for their prayers and ghostly counsel. And by all these artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which, during that time of furious cant and faction, small account would be made, he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, and a fine of ten thousand pounds accepted in lieu of it[e].

The severity exercised against the conspiracy, or rather

[b] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 326. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 249, 250, &c.
[c] 6th of June. [d] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 325. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 255.
[e] Whitlocke, p. 66. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 330. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 253, 254, &c.

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project, of Waller, increased the authority of the Parliament, and seemed to ensure them against like attempts for the future. But by the progress of the king's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the taking of Bristol, the siege of Gloucester, a cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Crowds of women, with a petition for that purpose, flocked about the House, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were given for dispersing them; and some of the females were killed in the fray[f]. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deserted the Parliament, and had gone to Oxford; Clare and Lovelace had followed them[g]. Northumberland had retired to his country-seat: Essex himself showed extreme dissatisfaction, and exhorted the Parliament to make peace[h]. The Upper House sent down terms of accommodation more moderate than had hitherto been insisted on. It even passed, by a majority among the Commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. The zealots took the alarm. A petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented by Pennington, the factious mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed all the former menaces against the moderate party[i]. The pulpits thundered, and rumours were spread of twenty thousand Irish, who had landed, and were to cut the throat of every Protestant[k]. The majority was again turned to the other side; and all thoughts of pacification being dropped, every preparation was made for resistance, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester, on which the Parliament was sensible all their hopes of success in the war did so much depend.

Massey, resolute to make a vigorous defence, and having under his command a city and garrison ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, had hitherto maintained the siege with courage and abilities, and had much retarded the advances of the king's army. By continual sallies he infested them in their trenches, and gained sudden advantages over them: by disputing every inch of ground, he repressed the vigour and alacrity of their courage, elated by former successes. His garrison, however, was

[f] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 357.
[g] Whitlocke, p. 67.
[h] Rushw. vol. vi. p. 290.
[i] Idem, ibid. p. 356.
[k] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 320. Rushw. vol. vi. p. 588.

reduced to the last extremity; and he failed not, from time to time, to inform the Parliament, that, unless speedily relieved, he should be necessitated, from the extreme want of provisions and ammunition, to open his gates to the enemy.

The Parliament, in order to repair their broken condition, and put themselves in a posture of defence, now exerted to the utmost their power and authority. They voted that an army should be levied under Sir William Waller, whom, notwithstanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary caresses. Having associated in their cause the counties of Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, they gave the Earl of Manchester a commission to be general of the association, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But, above all, they were intent that Essex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, should be put in a condition of marching against the king. They excited afresh their preachers to furious declamations against the royal cause. They even employed the expedient of pressing, though abolished by a late law, for which they had strenuously contended[l]. And they engaged the city to send four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloucester. All shops, meanwhile, were ordered to be shut; and every man expected, with the utmost anxiety, the event of that important enterprise[m].

Essex, carrying with him a well appointed army of fourteen thousand men, took the road of Bedford and Leicester; and though inferior in cavalry, yet by the mere force of conduct and discipline, he passed over those open champaign countries, and defended himself from the enemy's horse, who had advanced to meet him, and who infested him during his whole march. As he approached to Gloucester, the king was obliged to raise the siege, and open the way for Essex to enter that city. The necessities of the garrison were extreme. One barrel of powder was their whole stock of ammunition remaining; and their other provisions were in the same proportion. Essex had brought with him military stores; and the neighbouring country abundantly supplied him with

[l] Rushw. vol. vi. p. 292.

[m] Idem, ibid.

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victuals of every kind. The inhabitants had carefully concealed all provisions from the king's army, and pretending to be quite exhausted, had reserved their stores for that cause which they so much favoured [n].

The chief difficulty still remained. Essex dreaded a battle with the king's army, on account of its great superiority in cavalry; and he resolved to return, if possible, without running that hazard. He lay five days at Tewkesbury, which was his first stage after leaving Gloucester; and he feigned, by some preparations, to point towards Worcester. By a forced march during the night, he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage of passing unmolested an open country, and of surprising a convoy of provisions which lay in that town [o]. Without delay he proceeded towards London; but when he reached Newbury, he was surprised to find that the king, by hasty marches, had arrived before him, and was already possessed of the place.

29th Sept. Battle of Newbury.

An action was now unavoidable; and Essex prepared for it with presence of mind, and not without military conduct. On both sides the battle was fought with desperate valour and a steady bravery. Essex's horse were several times broken by the king's, but his infantry maintained themselves in firm array; and besides giving a continued fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against the furious shock of Prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentry of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed. The militia of London especially, though utterly unacquainted with action, though drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, yet having learned all military exercises, and being animated with unconquerable zeal for the cause in which they were engaged, equalled, on this occasion, what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning, Essex proceeded on his march; and though his rear was once put in some disorder by an incursion of the king's horse, he reached London in safety, and received applause for his conduct and success in the whole enterprise. The king followed him on his march;

[n] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 344.

[o] Rushw. vol. vi. p. 292.

and having taken possession of Reading, after the earl left it, he there established a garrison; and straitened, by that means, London, and the quarters of the enemy [p]. CHAP. LVI. 1643.

In the battle of Newbury, on the part of the king, besides the Earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two noblemen of promising hopes, was unfortunately slain, to the regret of every lover of ingenuity and virtue throughout the kingdom, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, secretary of state. Before assembling the present Parliament, this man, devoted to the pursuits of learning, and to the society of all the polite and elegant, had enjoyed himself in every pleasure, which a fine genius, a generous disposition, and an opulent fortune could afford. Called into public life, he stood foremost in all attacks on the high prerogatives of the crown: and displayed that masculine eloquence, and undaunted love of liberty, which, from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity, he had greedily imbibed. When civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to choose his side, he tempered the ardour of his zeal, and embraced the defence of those limited powers which remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. Still anxious, however, for his country, he seems to have dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party as much as of the enemy; and among his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would, with a sad accent, reiterate the word *Peace*. In excuse for the too free exposing of his person, which seemed unsuitable in a secretary of state, he alleged that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterprises, lest his impatience for peace might bear the imputation of cowardice or pusillanimity. From the commencement of the war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and even his usual attention to dress, required by his birth and station, gave way to a negligence which was easily observable. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had shown some care of adorning his person; and gave for a reason, that the enemy should not find his body in any slovenly indecent situation. "I am weary," subjoined he, "of the times,

[p] Rushw. vol. vi. p. 293. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 347.

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and foresee much misery to my country; but believe, that I shall be out of it ere night [q]." This excellent person was but thirty-four years of age when a period was thus put to his life.

The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

Actions in the north.

In the north, during the summer, the great interest and popularity of the Earl, now created Marquis, of Newcastle had raised a considerable force for the king; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. There appeared, however, in opposition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield [r] over a detachment of royalists, and took General Goring prisoner; the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough [s] over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. But both these defeats of the royalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of Lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor [t], and the dispersion of his army. After this victory, Newcastle, with an army of fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull. Hotham was no longer governor of this place. That gentleman and his son, partly from a jealousy entertained of Lord Fairfax, partly repenting of their engagements against the king, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being detected, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell, both of them, victims to the severity of the Parliament [u].

Newcastle, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was beat off by a sally of the garrison [w], and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester, who advanced from the eastern associated counties, having joined Crom-

[q] Whitlocke, p. 70. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 350, 351, &c.
[r] 21st of May. [s] 31st of July. [t] 30th of June.
[u] Rushw. vol. vi. p. 275. [w] 12th of October.

well and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horncastle; where the two officers last mentioned gained renown by their conduct and gallantry. And though fortune had thus balanced her favours, the king's party still remained much superior in those parts of England; and had it not been for the garrison at Hull, which kept Yorkshire in awe, a conjunction of the northern forces with the army in the south might have been made, and had probably enabled the king, instead of entering on the unfortunate, perhaps imprudent, enterprise of Gloucester, to march directly to London, and put an end to the war [x].

While the military enterprises were carried on with vigour in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eye towards the neighbouring kingdoms, and sought assistance for the finishing of that enterprise, in which their own forces experienced such furious opposition. The Parliament had recourse to Scotland; the king to Ireland.

When the Scottish covenanters obtained that end, for which they so earnestly contended, the establishment of presbyterian discipline in their own country, they were not satisfied, but indulged still an ardent passion for propagating, by all methods, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Having flattered themselves, in the fervour of their zeal, that, by supernatural assistances, they should be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself, it behoved them first to render it prevalent in England, which already showed so great a disposition to receive it. Even in the articles of pacification, they expressed a desire of uniformity in worship with England; and the king, employing general expressions, had approved of this inclination, as pious and laudable. No sooner was there an appearance of a rupture, than the English Parliament, in order to allure that nation into a close confederacy, openly declared their wishes of ecclesiastical reformation, and of imitating the example of their northern brethren [y]. When war was actually commenced, the same artifices were used; and the Scots beheld, with the utmost impatience, a

[x] Warwick, p. 261. Walker, p. 278.
[y] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 390. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 68.

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scene of action, of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. Should the king, they said, be able, by force of arms, to prevail over the Parliament of England, and re-establish his authority in that powerful kingdom, he will undoubtedly retract all those concessions which, with so many circumstances of violence and indignity, the Scots have extorted from him. Besides a sense of his own interest, and a regard to royal power, which has been entirely annihilated in this country; his very passion for prelacy and for religious ceremonies must lead him to invade a church which he has ever been taught to regard as antichristian and unlawful. Let us but consider who the persons are that compose the factions now so furiously engaged in arms. Does not the Parliament consist of those very men who have ever opposed all war with Scotland, who have punished the authors of our oppressions, who have obtained us the redress of every grievance, and who, with many honourable expressions, have conferred on us an ample reward for our brotherly assistance? And is not the court full of Papists, prelates, malignants; all of them zealous enemies to our religious model, and resolute to sacrifice their lives for their idolatrous establishments? Not to mention our own necessary security; can we better express our gratitude to Heaven for that pure light with which we are, above all nations, so eminently distinguished, than by conveying the same divine knowledge to our unhappy neighbours, who are wading through a sea of blood, in order to attain it? These were, in Scotland, the topics of every conversation: with these doctrines the pulpits echoed: and the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and reiterated against neutrality and moderation, resounded from all quarters[z].

The Parliament of England had ever invited the Scots, from the commencement of the civil dissensions, to interpose their mediation, which, they knew, would be so little favourable to the king; and the king, for that very reason, had ever endeavoured, with the least offensive expressions, to decline it[a]. Early this spring, the Earl

[z] Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof: because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Judges, chap. 5. v. 23.

[a] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398.

of Loudon, the chancellor, with other commissioners, and attended by Henderson, a popular and intriguing preacher, was sent to the king at Oxford, and renewed the offer of mediation; but with the same success as before. The commissioners were also empowered to press the king on the article of religion, and to recommend to him the Scottish model of ecclesiastical worship and discipline. This was touching Charles in a very tender point: his honour, his conscience, as well as his interest, he believed to be intimately concerned in supporting prelacy and the liturgy [b]. He begged the commissioners, therefore, to remain satisfied with the concessions which he had made to Scotland; and having modelled their own church according to their own principles, to leave their neighbours in the like liberty, and not to intermeddle with affairs of which they could not be supposed competent judges [c].

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The divines of Oxford, secure, as they imagined, of a victory, by means of their authorities from church history, their quotations from the fathers, and their spiritual arguments, desired a conference with Henderson, and undertook, by dint of reasoning, to convert that great apostle of the north: but Henderson, who had ever regarded as impious the least doubt with regard to his own principles, and who knew of a much better way to reduce opponents than by employing any theological topics, absolutely refused all disputation or controversy. The English divines went away full of admiration at the blind assurance and bigoted prejudices of the man: he, on his part, was moved with equal wonder at their obstinate attachment to such palpable errors and delusions.

By the concessions which the king had granted to Scotland, it became necessary for him to summon a Parliament once in three years; and in June of the subsequent year was fixed the period for the meeting of that assembly. Before that time elapsed, Charles flattered himself that he should be able, by some decisive advantage, to reduce the English Parliament to a reasonable submission, and might then expect, with security, the meeting of a Scottish Parliament. Though earnestly solicited by Loudon to summon presently that great

[b] See note [H], at the end of the volume.

[c] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 462.

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council of the nation, he absolutely refused to give authority to men who had already excited such dangerous commotions, and who showed still the same disposition to resist and invade his authority. The commissioners, therefore, not being able to prevail in any of their demands, desired the king's passport for London, where they purposed to confer with the English Parliament[d]; and being likewise denied this request, they returned with extreme dissatisfaction to Edinburgh.

The office of conservators of the peace was newly erected in Scotland, in order to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms; and these, instigated by the clergy, were resolved, since they could not obtain the king's consent, to summon, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention of states; and to bereave their sovereign of this article, the only one which remained of his prerogative. Under colour of providing for national peace, endangered by the neighbourhood of English armies, was a convention called[e]; an assembly which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a Parliament, in raising money and levying forces. Hamilton, and his brother the Earl of Laneric, who had been sent into Scotland in order to oppose these measures, wanted either authority or sincerity; and passively yielded to the torrent. The general assembly of the church met at the same time with the convention, and exercising an authority almost absolute over the whole civil power, made every political consideration yield to their theological zeal and prejudices.

The English Parliament was, at that time, fallen into great distress, by the progress of the royal arms; and they gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. The persons employed were the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley, attended by Marshal and Nye, two clergymen of signal authority[f]. In this negotiation, the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one,

[d] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 406.
[e] 22d of June.
[f] Whitlocke, p. 73. Rushw. vol. vi. p. 466. Clarendon, vol. iii, p. 300.

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even during that age, so famous for active talent. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh, that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of Parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants[g].

Solemn league and covenant.

The subscribers of the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed, according to the word of God, and the example of the purest churches. The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abjured, deemed this expression quite free from ambiguity, and regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded, in any degree, to such a description: but that able politician had other views, and while he employed his great talents in overreaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity, he had blindly devoted himself to the maintenance of systems still more absurd and more dangerous.

In the English Parliament there remained some members, who, though they had been induced, either by private ambition, or by zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, still retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the ancient modes of worship. But, in the present danger which threatened their cause, all scruples were laid aside; and the covenant, by whose means alone they could expect to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as the accession of the Scottish nation, was received without opposition. The Parliament, therefore, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority. Sept. 17.

Great were the rejoicings among the Scots, that they

g Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 478. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 373.

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should be the happy instruments of extending their mode of religion, and dissipating that profound darkness in which the neighbouring nations were involved. The general assembly applauded this glorious imitation of the piety displayed by their ancestors, who, they said, in three different applications, during the reign of Elizabeth, had endeavoured to engage the English, by persuasion, to lay aside the use of the surplice, tippet, and corner-cap [h]. The convention, too, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to swear to this covenant, under the penalty of confiscation; besides what farther punishment it should please the ensuing Parliament to inflict on the refusers, as enemies to God, to the king, and to the kingdom. And being determined that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themselves, with great vigilance and activity, for their military enterprises. By means of a hundred thousand pounds which they received from England; by the hopes of good pay and warm quarters; not to mention men's favourable disposition towards the cause, they soon completed their levies. And, having added, to their other forces, the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general, the Earl of Leven, with an army of above twenty thousand men [i].

Arming of the Scots.

The king, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon him, endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient; and he cast his eye towards Ireland, in hopes that this kingdom, from which his cause had already received so much prejudice, might at length contribute somewhat towards his protection and security.

State of Ireland.

After the commencement of the Irish insurrection, the English Parliament, though they undertook the suppression of it, had ever been too much engaged, either in military projects, or expeditions at home, to take any effectual step towards finishing that enterprise. They had entered, indeed, into a contract with the Scots, for sending over an army of ten thousand men into Ireland; and, in order to engage that nation in this undertaking, beside giving a promise of pay, they agreed to put Car-

[h] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 388.

[i] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 383.

ricfergus into their hands, and to invest their general with an authority quite independent of the English government. These troops, so long as they were allowed to remain, were useful, by diverting the force of the Irish rebels, and protecting in the north the small remnants of the British planters. But, except this contract with the Scottish nation, all the other measures of the Parliament either were hitherto absolutely insignificant, or tended rather to the prejudice of the Protestant cause in Ireland. By continuing their violent persecution, and still more violent menaces, against priests and Papists, they confirmed the Irish Catholics in their rebellion, and cut off all hopes of indulgence and toleration. By disposing beforehand of all the Irish forfeitures to subscribers or adventurers, they rendered all men of property desperate, and seemed to threaten a total extirpation of the natives[k]. And while they thus infused zeal and animosity into the enemy, no measure was pursued which could tend to support and encourage the Protestants, now reduced to the last extremities.

So great is the ascendant which, from a long course of successes, the English has acquired over the Irish nation, that though the latter, when they receive military discipline among foreigners, are not surpassed by any troops, they had never, in their own country, been able to make any vigorous effort for the defence or recovery of their liberties. In many rencounters, the English under Lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had, though under great disadvantages of situation and numbers, put the Irish to rout, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels raised the siege of Tredah, after an obstinate defence made by the garrison[l]. Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilrush and Boss; and had brought relief to all the forts which were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom[m]. But notwithstanding these successes, even the most common necessaries of life were wanting to the victorious armies. The Irish, in their wild rage against the British planters, had laid waste the whole kingdom,

[k] A thousand acres in Ulster were given to every one that subscribed two hundred pounds, in Connaught to the subscribers of three hundred and fifty, in Munster for four hundred and fifty, in Leinster for six hundred.

[l] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 506.

[m] Idem, ibid. p. 512.

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and were themselves totally unfit, from their habitual sloth and ignorance, to raise any convenience of human life. During the course of six months no supplies had come from England, except the fourth part of one small vessel's lading. Dublin, to save itself from starving, had been obliged to send the greater part of its inhabitants to England. The army had little ammunition, scarcely exceeding forty barrels of gunpowder; not even shoes or clothes; and for want of food the soldiers had been obliged to eat their own horses. And though the distress of the Irish was not much inferior[n]; besides that they were more hardened against such extremities, it was but a melancholy reflection, that the two nations, while they continued their furious animosities, should make desolate that fertile island, which might serve to the subsistence and happiness of both.

The justices and council of Ireland had been engaged, chiefly by the interest and authority of Ormond, to fall into an entire dependence on the king. Parsons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who favoured the opposite party, had been removed; and Charles had supplied their place by others better affected to his service. A committee of the English House of Commons, which had been sent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council, in obedience to orders transmitted from the king[o]. And these were reasons sufficient, besides the great difficulties under which they themselves laboured, why the Parliament was unwilling to send supplies to an army which, though engaged in a cause much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies. They even intercepted some small succours sent thither by the king.

The king, as he had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor provisions, to spare from his own urgent wants, resolved to embrace an expedient, which might at once relieve the necessities of the Irish Protestants, and contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. A truce with the rebels, he thought, would enable his subjects in Ireland to provide for their own support, and would procure him the assistance of the army against the

[n] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 555.
[o] Idem, ibid. p 530. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 167.

English Parliament. But as a treaty with a people so odious for their barbarities, and still more for their religion, might be represented in invidious colours, and renew all those calumnies with which he had been loaded, it was necessary to proceed with great caution in conducting that measure. A remonstrance from the army was made to the Irish council, representing their intolerable necessities, and craving permission to leave the kingdom: and if that were refused, *We must have recourse*, they said, *to that first and primary law, with which God has endowed all men; we mean the law of nature, which teaches every creature to preserve itself*[p]. Memorials both to the king and Parliament were transmitted by the justices and council, in which their wants and dangers are strongly set forth[q]; and though the general expressions in these memorials might perhaps be suspected of exaggeration, yet, from the particular facts mentioned, from the confession of the English Parliament itself[r], and from the very nature of things, it is apparent that the Irish Protestants were reduced to great extremities[s]; and it became prudent in the king, if not absolutely necessary, to embrace some expedient, which might secure them, for a time, from the ruin and misery with which they were threatened.

Accordingly, the king gave orders[t] to Ormond and the justices to conclude, for a year, a cessation of arms with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Irish were governed, and to leave both sides in possession of their present advantages. The Parliament, whose business it was to find fault with every measure adopted by the opposite party, and who would not lose so fair an opportunity of reproaching the king with his favour to the Irish Papists, exclaimed loudly against this cessation. Among other reasons, they insisted upon the Divine vengeance, which England might justly dread, for tolerating antichristian idolatry, on pretence of civil contracts

p Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 537.

q Idem, ibid. p. 538.

r Idem, ibid. p. 540.

s See farther, Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. No. 113. 127, 128, 129. 134. 136. 141. 144. 149. 158, 159. All these papers put it past doubt, that the necessities of the English army in Ireland were extreme. See farther, Rushw. vol. vi. p. 537; and Dugdale, p. 853, 854.

t 7th September. See Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 537. 544. 547.

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and political agreements[u]. Religion, though every day employed as the engine of their own ambitious purposes, was supposed too sacred to be yielded up to the temporal interests or safety of kingdoms.

After the cessation, there was little necessity, as well as no means, of subsisting the army in Ireland. The king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to send over considerable bodies of it to England. Most of them continued in his service; but a small part, having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the Catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the Parliament.

Some Irish Catholics came over with these troops, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed[w]. The Parliament voted that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given them: but Prince Rupert, by making some reprisals, soon repressed this inhumanity[x].

[u] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 557. [w] Whitlocke, p. 78. 103.
[x] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 680. 783.

CHAPTER LVII.

Invasion of the Scots.—Battle of Marston-moor.—Battle of Cropredy-bridge.—Essex's Forces disarmed.—Second Battle of Newbury.—Rise and Character of the Independents.—Self-denying Ordinance.—Fairfax, Cromwell.—Treaty of Uxbridge.—Execution of Laud.

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The king had hitherto, during the course of the war, obtained many advantages over the Parliament, and had raised himself from that low condition into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were reduced by the Marquis of Newcastle; and, excepting Hull, the Parliament was master of no garrison in these quarters. In the west, Plymouth alone, having been in vain besieged by Prince Maurice, resisted the king's authority: and had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprise on Gloucester, the royal garrisons had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and had occupied a greater extent of ground than those of the Parliament. Many of the royalists flattered themselves that the same vigorous spirit which had elevated them to the present height of power would still favour their progress, and obtain them a final victory over their enemies: but those who judged more soundly observed, that besides the accession of the whole Scottish nation to the side of the Parliament, the very principle on which the royal successes had been founded, was every day acquired, more and more, by the opposite party. The king's troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exerted a valour superior to their enemies, and had hitherto been successful in almost every rencounter: but in proportion as the whole nation became warlike by the continuance of civil discords, this advantage was more equally shared; and superior numbers, it was expected, must at length obtain the victory. The king's troops also, ill paid, and destitute of every necessary, could not possibly be retained in equal discipline

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with the parliamentary forces, to whom all supplies were furnished from unexhausted stores and treasures[a]. The severity of manners, so much affected by these zealous religionists, assisted their military institutions; and the rigid inflexibility of character by which the austere reformers of church and state were distinguished, enabled the parliamentary chiefs to restrain their soldiers within stricter rules and more exact order. And while the king's officers indulged themselves even in greater licences than those to which, during times of peace, they had been accustomed, they were apt both to neglect their military duty, and to set a pernicious example of disorder to the soldiers under their command.

At the commencement of the civil war, all Englishmen who served abroad were invited over, and treated with extraordinary respect: and most of them, being descended of good families, and, by reason of their absence, unacquainted with the new principles which depressed the dignity of the crown, had enlisted under the royal standard. But it is observable that, though the military profession requires great genius and long experience in the principal commanders, all its subordinate duties may be discharged by ordinary talents, and from superficial practice. Citizens and country gentlemen soon became excellent officers, and the generals of greatest fame and capacity happened, all of them, to spring up on the side of the Parliament. The courtiers and great nobility, in the other party, checked the growth of any extraordinary genius among the subordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular established government, was confined to the station in which his birth had placed him.

The king, that he might make preparations, during winter, for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either House who adhered to his interests; and endeavoured to avail himself of the name of Parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation[b]. The House of Peers was pretty full; and besides the nobility employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as commonly voted at Westminster. The House of Commons con-

[a] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 560.

[b] Idem, ibid. p. 559.

sisted of about one hundred and forty; which amounted not to above half of the other House of Commons [c].

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of *excise* was unknown to them; and among other evils arising from these domestic wars, was the introduction of that impost into England. The Parliament at Westminster, having voted an excise on beer, wine, and other commodities; those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And, in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the subject. The king circulated privy-seals, countersigned by the speakers of both Houses, requiring the loan of particular sums from such persons as lived within his quarters [d]. Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagonists with these illegal measures.

The Westminster Parliament passed a whimsical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week; and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause [e]. It is easily imagined that, provided the money were paid, they troubled themselves but little about the execution of their ordinance.

Such was the king's situation, that, in order to restore peace to the nation, he had no occasion to demand any other terms than the restoring of the laws and constitution; the replacing him in the same rights which had ever been enjoyed by his predecessors; and the re-establishing, on its ancient basis, the whole frame of government, civil as well as ecclesiastical. And, that he might facilitate an end seemingly so desirable, he offered to employ means equally popular, an universal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to tender consciences. Nothing, therefore, could contribute more to his interests than every discourse of peace, and every discussion of the conditions upon which that blessing could be obtained. For this reason, he solicited a treaty on all occasions, and desired a conference and mutual ex-

[c] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 566. 574, 575.
[d] Idem, ibid. p. 590.
[e] Dugdale, p. 119. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 748.

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amination of pretensions, even when he entertained no hopes that any conclusion could possibly result from it.

For like reasons, the Parliament prudently avoided, as much as possible, all advances towards negotiation, and were cautious not to expose too easily to censure those high terms, which their apprehensions or their ambition made them previously demand of the king. Though their partisans were blinded with the thickest veil of religious prejudices, they dreaded to bring their pretensions to the test, or lay them open before the whole nation. In opposition to the sacred authority of the laws, to the venerable precedents of many ages, the popular leaders were ashamed to plead nothing but fears and jealousies, which were not avowed by the constitution, and for which neither the personal character of Charles, so full of virtue, nor his situation, so deprived of all independent authority, seemed to afford any reasonable foundation. Grievances which had been fully redressed; powers, either legal or illegal, which had been entirely renounced; it seemed unpopular, and invidious, and ungrateful, any farther to insist on.

The king, that he might abate the universal veneration paid to the name of Parliament, had issued a declaration, in which he set forth all the tumults by which himself and his partisans in both Houses had been driven from London; and he thence inferred that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free Parliament, and, till its liberty were restored, was entitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, some contrivance seemed requisite, in order to elude it.

A letter was written, in the foregoing spring, to the Earl of Essex, and subscribed by the prince, the Duke of York, and forty-three noblemen [f]. They there exhort him to be an instrument of restoring peace, and to promote that happy end with those by whom he was employed. Essex, though much disgusted with the Parliament, though apprehensive of the extremities to which they were driving, though desirous of any reasonable accommodation; yet was still more resolute to preserve an honourable fidelity to the trust reposed in him. He re-

[f] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 442. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 566. Whitlocke, p. 77.

plied, that as the paper sent him neither contained any address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor any acknowledgment of their authority, he could not communicate it to them. Like proposals had been reiterated by the king, during the ensuing campaign, and still met with a like answer from Essex[g].

In order to make a new trial for a treaty, the king, this spring, sent another letter, directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, but as he also mentioned, in the letter, the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, and declared that his scope and intention was to make provision that all the members of both Houses might securely meet in a full and free assembly; the Parliament, perceiving the conclusion implied, refused all treaty upon such terms[h]. And the king, who knew what small hopes there were of accommodation, would not abandon the pretensions which he had assumed; nor acknowledge the two Houses, more expressly, for a free Parliament.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by one party, as respected by the other. At London, he was considered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by incessant labours for the interests of his country[i]: at Oxford, he was believed to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermin; as a mark of divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treasons. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars of which he had been one principal author, that the Parliament thought themselves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted[k]. We now return to the military operations, which, during the winter, were carried on with vigour in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season.

The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyne, in North Wales; and being put under the command of Lord Biron, they besieged and took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington-house[l]. No place in Cheshire, or the neighbourhood, now adhered

g Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 444. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 569, 570. Whitlocke, p. 94.
h Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 449. Whitlocke, p. 79.
i Ibid. p. 66.
k Journ. 13th of February, 1643.
l Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 299.

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Invasion from Scotland. The invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The Scots, having summoned in vain the town of Newcastle, which was 22d Feb. fortified by the vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, passed the Tyne, and faced the Marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham, with an army of fourteen thousand men[n]. After some military operations, in which that nobleman reduced the enemy to difficulties for forage and provisions, he received intelligence of a great disaster, which had befallen his forces in Yorkshire. Colonel Bellasis, April 11. whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheshire with his victorious forces[o]. Afraid of being enclosed between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven having joined Lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. But as the Parliamentary and Scottish forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they contented themselves with

[m] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 301. [n] Idem, ibid. p. 615.
[o] Idem, ibid. p. 618.

incommoding it by a loose blockade; and affairs remained for some time in suspense between these opposite armies[p].

During this winter and spring, other parts of the kingdom had also been infested with war. Hopton, having assembled an army of fourteen thousand men, endeavoured to break into Sussex, Kent, and the southern association, which seemed well disposed to receive him. Waller fell upon him at Cherington, and gave him a defeat[q] of considerable importance. In another quarter, siege being laid to Newark by the parliamentary forces, Prince Rupert prepared himself for relieving a town of such consequence, which alone preserved the communication open between the king's southern and northern quarters[r]. With a small force, but that animated by his active courage, he broke through the enemy, relieved the town, and totally dissipated that army of the Parliament.

But though fortune seemed to have divided her favours between the parties, the king found himself, in the main, a considerable loser by this winter campaign; and he prognosticated a still worse event from the ensuing summer. The preparations of the Parliament were great; and much exceeded the slender resources of which he was possessed. In the eastern association, they levied fourteen thousand men, under the Earl of Manchester, seconded by Cromwell[t]. An army of ten thousand men, under Essex, another of nearly the same force under Waller, were assembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was destined to oppose the king; the latter was appointed to march into the west, where Prince Maurice, with a small army which went continually to decay, was spending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconsiderable town upon the sea-coast. The utmost efforts of the king could not raise above ten thousand men at Oxford; and on their sword chiefly, during the campaign, were these to depend for subsistence.

The queen, terrified with the dangers which every way environed her, and afraid of being enclosed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where she

p Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 620.
r Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 306.
t Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 621.
q 29th of March.
s 21st of March.

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hoped to be delivered unmolested of the child with which she was now pregnant, and whence she had the means of an easy escape into France, if pressed by the forces of the enemy. She knew the implacable hatred which the Parliament, on account of her religion, and her credit with the king, had all along borne her. Last summer the Commons had sent up to the Peers an impeachment of high treason against her; because, in his utmost distresses, she had assisted her husband with arms and ammunition, which she had bought in Holland[u]. And had she fallen into their hands, neither her sex, she knew, nor high station, could protect her against insults at least, if not danger, from those haughty republicans, who so little affected to conduct themselves by the maxims of gallantry and politeness.

From the beginning of these dissensions, the Parliament, it is remarkable, had, in all things, assumed an extreme ascendant over their sovereign, and had displayed a violence, and arrogated an authority, which, on his side, would not have been compatible, either with his temper or his situation. While he spoke perpetually of pardoning all *rebels*, they talked of nothing but the punishment of *delinquents* and *malignants:* while he offered a toleration and indulgence to tender consciences, they threatened the utter extirpation of prelacy: to his professions of lenity, they opposed declarations of rigour: and the more the ancient tenor of the laws inculcated a respectful subordination to the crown, the more careful were they, by their lofty pretensions, to cover that defect under which they laboured.

Their great advantages in the north seemed to second their ambition, and finally to promise them success in their unwarrantable enterprises. Manchester, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity; and the parliamentary generals, after enduring great losses and fatigues, flattered themselves that all their labours would at last be crowned by this important conquest. On a sudden, they were alarmed by the approach of Prince Rupert. This gallant

[u] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 321.

commander, having vigorously exerted himself in Lancashire and Cheshire, had collected a considerable army; and joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, hastened to the relief of York, with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston-moor, purposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be content with the present advantages, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions which had begun to take place among them [w]. The prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, nor softened by complaisance, pretending positive orders from the king, without deigning to consult with Newcastle, whose merits and services deserved better treatment, immediately issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston-moor [x]. This action was obstinately disputed between the most numerous armies that were engaged during the course of these wars; nor were the forces on each side much different in number. Fifty thousand British troops were led to mutual slaughter; and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwell [y], who conducted the choice troops of the Parliament, inured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a sharp combat, the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise borne down and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had at first been ranged. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Colonel Lambert, with some troops, broke through the royalists; and, transported by the

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2d July.

Battle of Marston-moor.

[w] Life of the Duke of Newcastle, p. 40. [x] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 506.
[y] Rushworth, part 3. vol. ii. p. 633.

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ardour of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, engaged also in pursuit of the enemy. But after that attempt was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, restoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprised to find that they must again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged; and each army occupied the ground which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious and desperate with the first: but after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the side of the Parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army pushed off the field of battle[z].

This event was in itself a mighty blow to the king; but proved more fatal in its consequences. The Marquis of Newcastle was entirely lost to the royal cause. That nobleman, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, into these military operations, merely by a high sense of honour, and a personal regard to his master. The dangers of war were disregarded by his valour; but its fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expense; polite and elegant in his taste; courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the party which he embraced. But amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, often stole him from his rougher occupations. He chose Sir William Davenant, an ingenious poet, for his lieutenant-general; the other persons, in whom he placed confidence, were more the instruments of his refined pleasures, than qualified for the business which they undertook: and the

[z] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 632 Whitlocke, p. 89.

severity and application requisite to the support of discipline were qualities in which he was entirely wanting[a]. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

When Prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, resolved on this battle, and issued all orders, without communicating his intentions to him, he took the field, but he said, merely as a volunteer; and except by his personal courage, which shone out with lustre, he had no share in the action. Enraged to find that all his successful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, terrified with the prospect of renewing his pains and fatigue, he resolved no longer to maintain the few resources which remained to a desperate cause, and thought that the same regard to honour, which had at first called him to arms, now required him to abandon a party where he met with such unworthy treatment. Next morning early he sent word to the prince that he was instantly to leave the kingdom; and, without delay, he went to Scarborough, where he found a vessel, which carried him beyond sea. During the ensuing years, till the restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and saw, with indifference, his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the government of England. He disdained, by submission or composition, to show obeisance to their usurped authority; and the least favourable censors of his merit allowed, that the fidelity and services of a whole life had sufficiently atoned for one rash action into which his passion had betrayed him[b].

Prince Rupert, with equal precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. Glenham, in a few days, was obliged to surrender York; and July 16. he marched out his garrison with all the honours of war[c]. Lord Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county, and sent a thousand horse into Lancashire, to join with the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and attend the motions of Prince Rupert: the Scottish army marched northwards, in order to join the Earl of Calender, who was advancing with ten thousand additional forces[d]; and to reduce the town of Newcastle, which they took by storm: the Earl of Manchester,

[a] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 507, 508. See Warwick.
[b] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 511.
[c] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 638.
[d] Whitlocke, p. 88.

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with Cromwell, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly ascribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eastern association, in order to recruit his army[e].

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created Earl of Brentford, acted under the king as general.

The Parliament soon completed their two armies commanded by Essex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many speeches were made to the citizens by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to spare, on this important occasion, either their purses, their persons, or their prayers[f]; and, in general, it must be confessed, they were sufficiently liberal in all these contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford, and, if the king retired into that city, to lay siege to it, and by one enterprise put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, passed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon, and had enclosed him on both sides[g]. He marched towards Worcester; and Waller received orders from Essex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himself marched into the west in quest of Prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only separated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence that the king was advanced to Bewdley, and had directed his course towards Shrewsbury. In order to prevent him, Waller presently dislodged, and hastened by quick marches to that town; while the king, suddenly returning upon his own footsteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, now in his turn marched out in quest of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury; but the Charwell ran between them. Next day the king decamped, and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling

Battle of Cropredy-bridge. June 29.

[e] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 641. [f] Idem, ibid. p. 662. [g] 3d of June.

on the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss[h]. Stunned and disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having obliged Prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced still in his conquests, and met with no equal opposition. The king followed him, and having reinforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army superior to the enemy. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the Parliament of his danger, and desired them to send an army which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed them on one side; Prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horse passed the king's outposts, in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrisons of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and being conducted to the Parliament's quarters, were dismissed. By this advantage, which was much boasted of, the king, besides the honour of the enterprise, obtained what he stood extremely in need of: the Parliament, having preserved the men, lost what they could easily repair[i].

1st Sept.

Essex's forces disarmed.

No sooner did this intelligence reach London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Essex for his fidelity, courage, and conduct; and this method of proceeding, no less politic than magnanimous, was preserved by the Parliament throughout the whole course of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with success, these two powerful engines of reward and punishment, in confirmation of their authority.

[h] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 676. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 497. Sir Ed. Walker, p. 31.

[i] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 699, &c. Whitlocke, p. 98. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 524, 525. Sir Ed. Walker, p. 69, 70, &c.

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That the king might have less reason to exult in the advantages which he had obtained in the west, the Parliament opposed to him very numerous forces. Having armed anew Essex's subdued, but not disheartened troops, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell to march with their recruited forces from the eastern association; and, joining their armies to those of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Essex, offer battle to the king.

Second battle of Newbury.

Charles chose his post at Newbury, where the parliamentary armies, under the Earl of Manchester, attacked him with great vigour; and that town was a second time the scene of the bloody animosities of the English.

27th Oct.

Essex's soldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace of Lestithiel, made an impetuous assault on the royalists; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Though the king's troops defended themselves with valour, they were overpowered by numbers; and the night came very seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. Charles, leaving his baggage and cannon in Denningtoncastle, near Newbury, forthwith retreated to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. There Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton joined him, with considerable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Denningtoncastle[k]. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army since his misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester, who commanded, though his forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwell's advice, who earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an

9th Nov.

opportunity of finishing the war. The king's army, by bringing off their cannon from Denningtoncastle, in the face of the enemy, seemed to have sufficiently repaired the honour which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles, having the satisfaction to excite between Manchester and Cromwell, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller[l], distributed his army into winter-quarters.

23d Nov.

Those contests among the parliamentary generals,

[k] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 721.

[l] Idem, vol. vii. p. 1.

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which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter season: and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and Parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a secret distinction, which, though the dread of the king's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer and more immediate, began to discover itself with high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had, at first, taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. We must here endeavour to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the scene of action.

Rise and character of the independents.

During those times when the enthusiastic spirit met with such honour and encouragement, and was the immediate means of distinction and preferment, it was impossible to set bounds to these holy fervours, or confine, within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection. In proportion to its degree of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the independents went a note higher than the presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.

The independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed, within itself, a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was

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sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands, was, as in all other churches, supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to reject the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office; the fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the Spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with Heaven.

The Catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: the presbyterians, imagining that such clear and certain tenets as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their bigoted zeal, in a like doctrine and practice: the independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all Christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and it is remarkable that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.

Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend towards superstition, were treated by the independents with rigour. The doctrines too of fate or destiny were deemed by them essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all their other differences, unanimously concurred.

The political system of the independents kept pace

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with their religious. Not content with confining to very narrow limits the power of the crown, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate, which was the project of the presbyterians; this sect, more ardent in the pursuit of liberty, aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order in a republic, quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as, they knew, it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the offended prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the opposition against peace, than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the great success which had already attended the arms of the Parliament, and the greater, which was soon expected, confirmed them still farther in this obstinacy.

Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. The Earl of Essex, disgusted with a war, of which he began to foresee the pernicious consequences, adhered to the presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The Earl of Northumberland, fond of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a scheme which, if it took place, would confound himself and his family with the lowest in the kingdom. The Earls of Warwick and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Massey Whitlocke, Maynard, Glyn, had embraced the same sentiments. In the Parliament, a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by military violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of success.

The Earl of Manchester, provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, had long forwarded the war with alacrity: but being a man of

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humanity and good principles, the view of public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe or honourable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, not to have pushed to the utmost against the king the advantages obtained by the arms of the Parliament; and Cromwell, in the public debates, revived the accusation, that this nobleman had wilfully neglected, at Dennington-castle, a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. "I showed him evidently," said Cromwell, "how this success might be obtained; and only desired leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat: leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neuter with the rest of his forces: but, notwithstanding my importunity, he positively refused his consent; and gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions: we should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law[m]."

Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the Parliament that, at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme, to which it seemed improbable the Parliament would agree, he insisted and said, *My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army, which shall give law both to king and Parliament.* "This discourse," continued Manchester, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England, till I were Mr. Montague, and there were ne'er a lord or peer in the kingdom[n]." So full was Cromwell of these republican projects, that, notwithstanding his habits of profound dissimulation, he could not so carefully guard his expressions, but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him.

These violent dissensions brought matters to extremity, and pushed the independents to the execution of their designs. The present generals, they thought, were more desirous of protracting than finishing the war; and having

[m] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 561.

[n] Idem, ibid. p. 562.

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entertained a scheme for preserving still some balance in the constitution, they were afraid of entirely subduing the king, and reducing him to a condition where he should not be entitled to ask any concessions. A new model alone of the army could bring complete victory to the Parliament, and free the nation from those calamities under which it laboured. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as merits, of Essex was very great with the Parliament. Not only he had served them all along with the most exact and scrupulous honour: it was, in some measure, owing to his popularity, that they had ever been enabled to levy an army, or make head against the royal cause. Manchester, Warwick, and the other commanders, had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. The Scots and Scottish commissioners, jealous of the progress of the independents, were a new obstacle; which without the utmost art and subtilty, it would be difficult to surmount[o]. The methods by which this intrigue was conducted are so singular, and show so fully the genius of the age, that we shall give a detail of them, as they are delivered by Lord Clarendon[p].

A fast, on the last Wednesday of every month, had been ordered by the Parliament, at the beginning of these commotions: and their preachers on that day were careful to keep alive, by their vehement declamations, the popular prejudices entertained against the king, against prelacy, and against popery. The king, that he might combat the Parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewise a monthly fast, when the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and of submission to the higher powers; and he chose the second Friday of every month for the devotion of the royalists[q]. It was now proposed and carried in Parliament, by the independents, that a new and more solemn fast should be voted, when they should implore the Divine assistance for extricating them from those perplexities in which they were at present involved. On that day the preachers, after many political

[o] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 562. [p] Idem, ibid. p. 565.
[q] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 364.

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prayers, took care to treat of the reigning divisions in the Parliament, and ascribed them entirely to the selfish ends pursued by the members. In the hands of those members, they said, are lodged all the considerable commands of the army, all the lucrative offices in the civil administration: and while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an insupportable load of taxes, these men multiply possession on possession, and will in a little time be masters of all the wealth of the kingdom. That such persons who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or ensuring final success to the war, cannot reasonably be expected. Lingering expedients alone will be pursued: and operations in the field concurring, in the same pernicious end, with deliberations in the cabinet, civil commotions will for ever be perpetuated in the nation. After exaggerating these disorders, the ministers returned to their prayers; and besought the Lord, that he would take his own work into his own hand, and if the instruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring to a conclusion so glorious a design, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and, by establishing true religion, put a speedy period to the public miseries.

On the day subsequent to these devout animadversions, when the Parliament met, a new spirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the Commons, that if ever God appeared to them, it was in the ordinances of yesterday: that, as he was credibly informed by many, who had been present in different congregations, the same lamentations and discourses, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: that so remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: that he therefore entreated them, in vindication of their own honour, in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private ends, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage: that the absence of so many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered the House extremely thin, and diminished the authority of their determinations: and that he could not forbear, for his own part, accusing himself as one who

enjoyed a gainful office, that of treasurer of the navy; and though he was possessed of it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favour of the Parliament, yet was he ready to resign it, and to sacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every consideration of private interest and advantage.

Cromwell next acted his part, and commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them of their errors, of which they were so unwilling to be informed. Though they dwelt on many things, he said, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but confess, that till there were a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper. The Parliament, no doubt, continued he, had done wisely on the commencement of the war, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous parts of it, and thereby satisfying the nation that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progress of military operations, there have arisen in the parliamentary armies many excellent officers who are qualified for higher commands than they are now possessed of. And though it becomes not men engaged in such a cause *to put trust in the arm of flesh*, yet he could assure them, that their troops contained generals fit to command in any enterprise in Christendom. The army, indeed, he was sorry to say it, did not correspond, by its discipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevail among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking.

In opposition to this reasoning of the independents, many of the presbyterians showed the inconvenience and danger of the projected alteration. Whitlocke, in particular, a man of honour, who loved his country, though in every change of government he always adhered to the ruling power, said, that besides the ingratitude of discarding, and that by fraud and artifice, so many noble persons, to whom the Parliament had hitherto owed its chief support, they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of men, now formed by experience to

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command and authority: that the rank alone, possessed by such as were members of either House, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those which were embraced by the persons who employed them: that no maxim of policy was more undisputed, than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connexion between the civil and military powers, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former: that the Greeks and Romans, the wisest and most passionate lovers of liberty, had ever entrusted to their senators the command of armies, and had maintained an unconquerable jealousy of all mercenary forces: and that such men alone, whose interests were involved in those of the public, and who possessed a vote in the civil deliberations, would sufficiently respect the authority of Parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them[r].

Self-denying ordinance.

Notwithstanding these reasonings, a committee was chosen to frame what was called the *self-denying ordinance*, by which the members of both Houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. This ordinance was the subject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the Parliament and city into factions. But at last, by the prevalence of envy with some; with others, of false modesty; with a great many, of the republican and independent views; it passed the House of Commons, and was sent to the Upper House. The Peers, though the scheme was, in part, levelled against their order; though all of them were, at bottom, extremely averse to it; though they even ventured once to reject it; yet possessed so little authority, that they durst not persevere in opposing the resolution of the Commons; and they thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin which they saw approaching[s]. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both Houses, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and

[r] Whitlocke, p. 114, 115. Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 6.
[s] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 8. 15.

many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of Parliament for their good services. A pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex.

It was agreed to recruit the army to twenty-two thousand men; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general [t]. It is remarkable, that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and Parliament, but in that of the Parliament alone: and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. So much had animosities increased between the parties [u]. Cromwell, being a member of the Lower House, should have been discarded with the others; but this impartiality would have disappointed all the views of those who had introduced the self-denying ordinance. He was saved by a subtilty, and by that political craft, in which he was so eminent. At the time when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken that he should be sent, with a body of horse, to relieve Taunton, besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were despatched for his immediate attendance in Parliament; and the new general was directed to employ some other officer in that service. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which it was averred he would take his place in the House. But Fairfax, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the Parliament, and desired leave to retain, for some days, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he said, would be useful in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned. Shortly after, he begged with much earnestness, that they would allow Cromwell to serve that campaign [w]. And thus the independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality upon Cromwell.

Fairfax.

Fairfax was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and though strongly infected with prejudices, or principles, derived from religious and party zeal, he seems never, in the course of his public conduct, to have been diverted, by private interest or ambition, from

[t] Whitlocke, p. 118. Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 7. [u] Whitlocke, p. 133.
[w] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 629, 630. Whitlocke, p. 141.

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adhering strictly to these principles. Sincere in his professions; disinterested in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the most shining characters of the age: had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarrassed and confused elocution on every occasion, but when he gave orders, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate.

Cromwell.

Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinuation Fairfax was entirely governed, is one of the most eminent and most singular personages that occurs in history. The strokes of his character are as open and strongly marked, as the schemes of his conduct were during the time dark and impenetrable. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects: his enterprising genius was not dismayed with the boldest and most dangerous. Carried by his natural temper to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy; he yet knew, when necessary, to employ the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. A friend to justice, though his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, though he perpetually employed it as the instrument of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the prospect of sovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irresistible to human nature. And by using well that authority which he had attained by fraud and violence, he has lessened, if not overpowered, our detestation of his enormities, by our admiration of his success and of his genius.

Treaty of Uxbridge.

During this important transaction of the self-denying ordinance, the negotiations for peace were likewise carried on, though with small hopes of success. The king having sent two messages, one from Evesham [x], another from Tavistoke [y], desiring a treaty, the Parliament despatched commissioners to Oxford, with proposals as high as if they had obtained a complete victory [z]. The advantages gained during the campaign, and the great distresses of

[x] 4th of July, 1644. [y] 8th of Sept. 1644.
[z] Dugdale, p. 737. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 850.

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the royalists, had much elevated their hopes; and they were resolved to repose no trust in men inflamed with the highest animosity against them, and who, were they possessed of power, were fully authorized by law to punish all their opponents as rebels and traitors.

The king, when he considered the proposals and the disposition of the Parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no prospect but of war, or of total submission and subjection: yet, in order to satisfy his own party, who were impatient for peace, he agreed to send the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Southampton, with an answer to the proposals of the Parliament, and at the same time to desire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretensions [a]. It now became necessary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two Houses at Westminster were not a free Parliament; and accordingly he was induced, though with great reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of the Parliament of England [b]. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter which he wrote to the queen, and of which a copy was taken at Naseby, that he secretly entered an explanatory protest in his council-book; and he pretended that, though he had *called* them the Parliament, he had not thereby *acknowledged* them for such [c]. This subtilty, which has been frequently objected to Charles, is the most noted of those very few instances, from which the enemies of this prince have endeavoured to load him with the imputation of insincerity; and have inferred, that the Parliament could repose no confidence in his professions and declarations, not even in his laws and statutes. There is, however, it must be confessed, a difference universally avowed between simply giving to men the appellation which they assume, and the formal acknowledgment of their title to it; nor is any thing more common and familiar in all public transactions.

The time and place of treaty being settled, sixteen 30th Jan.

[a] Whitlocke, p. 110. [b] Ibid. p. 111. Dugdale, p. 748.

[c] His words are: "As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: If there had been but two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." *The King's Cabinet Opened.* Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 943.

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commissioners from the king met at Uxbridge, with twelve authorized by the Parliament, attended by the Scottish commissioners. It was agreed, that the Scottish and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands, with regard to three important articles, *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland;* and that these should be successively discussed in conference with the king's commissioners [d]. It was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of these articles.

In the summer, 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the Parliament had summoned an assembly at Westminster, consisting of one hundred and twenty-one divines and thirty laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphysical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the liturgy was entirely abolished, and in its stead a new directory for worship was established, by which, suitably to the spirit of the puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the solemn league and covenant, episcopacy was abjured, as destructive of all true piety: and a national engagement, attended with every circumstance that could render a promise sacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scots, never to suffer its readmission. All these measures showed little spirit of accommodation in the Parliament; and the king's commissioners were not surprised to find the establishment of presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the covenant, both by the king and kingdom [e].

[d] Whitlocke, p. 121. Dugdale, p. 758.

[e] Such love of contradiction prevailed in the Parliament, that they had converted Christmas, which with the churchmen was a great festival, into a solemn fast and humiliation: "In order," as they said, "that it might call to remembrance our sins and the sins of our forefathers, who, pretending to celebrate the memory of Christ, have turned this feast into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights." Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 817. It is remarkable that as the Parliament abolished all holidays, and severely prohibited all amusement on the sabbath; and even burned, by the hands of the hangman, the king's book of sports; the nation found that there was no time left for relaxation or diversion. Upon application, therefore, of the servants and apprentices, the Parliament appointed the second Tuesday of every month for play and recreation. Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 460. Whitlocke, p. 247. But these institutions they found great difficulty to execute; and the people were resolved to be merry when they themselves pleased, not when the Parliament should prescribe it to them. The keeping of Christmas holidays was long a great mark of malignancy, and very

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Had Charles been of a disposition to neglect all theological controversy, he yet had been obliged, in good policy, to adhere to episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were passionately devoted to it; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as so important an article, was for ever to relinquish their friendship and assistance. But Charles had never attained such enlarged principles. He deemed bishops essential to the very being of a Christian church; and he thought himself bound by more sacred ties than those of policy, or even of honour, to the support of that order. His concessions, therefore, on this head, he judged sufficient when he agreed that an indulgence should be given to tender consciences with regard to ceremonies; that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination without the consent and counsel of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that they should reside constantly in their diocese, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed; and that a hundred thousand pounds be levied on the bishops' estates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the Parliament[f]. These concessions, though considerable, gave no satisfaction to the parliamentary commissioners; and without abating any thing of their rigour on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia.

The king's partisans had all along maintained that the

severely censured by the Commons. Whitlocke, p. 286. Even minced pies, which custom had made a Christmas dish among the churchmen, was regarded, during that season, as a profane and superstitious viand by the sectaries; though at other times it agreed very well with their stomachs. In the parliamentary ordinance too, for the observance of the sabbath, they inserted a clause for the taking down of may-poles, which they called a heathenish vanity. Since we are upon this subject, it may not be amiss to mention, that beside setting apart Sunday for the ordinances, as they called them, the godly had regular meetings on the Thursdays for resolving cases of conscience, and conferring about their progress in grace. What they were chiefly anxious about was, the fixing the precise moment of their conversion or new birth, and whoever could not ascertain so difficult a point of calculation, could not pretend to any title to saintship. The profane scholars at Oxford, after the Parliament became masters of that town, gave to the house in which the zealots assembled, the denomination of *Scruple Shop:* the zealots, in their turn, insulted the scholars and professors; and, intruding into the place of lectures, declaimed against human learning, and challenged the most knowing of them to prove that their calling was from Christ. See Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, p. 740.

[f] Dugdale, p. 779, 780.

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fears and jealousies of the Parliament, after the securities so early and easily given to public liberty, were either feigned or groundless; and that no human institution could be better poised and adjusted than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the star-chamber and court of high commission, the prerogative, they said, has lost all that coercive power by which it had formerly suppressed or endangered liberty: by the establishment of triennial Parliaments, it can have no leisure to acquire new powers, or guard itself, during any time, from the inspection of that vigilant assembly: by the slender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain such influence as to procure a repeal of these salutary statutes: and while the prince commands no military force, he will in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, so clearly defined by means of late disputes, and so passionately cherished by all his subjects. In this situation, surely, the nation, governed by so virtuous a monarch, may, for the present, remain in tranquillity, and try whether it be not possible, by peaceful arts, to elude that danger with which, it is pretended, its liberties are still threatened.

But though the royalists insisted on these plausible topics before the commencement of war, they were obliged to own, that the progress of civil commotions had somewhat abated the force and evidence of this reasoning. If the power of the militia, said the opposite party, be entrusted to the king, it would not now be difficult for him to abuse that authority. By the rage of intestine discord, his partisans are inflamed into an extreme hatred against their antagonists; and have contracted, no doubt, some prejudices against popular privileges, which, in their apprehension, have been the source of so much disorder. Were the arms of the state, therefore, put entirely into such hands, what public security, it may be demanded, can be given to liberty, or what private security to those who, in opposition to the letter of the law, have so generously ventured their lives in its defence? In compliance with this apprehension, Charles offered, that the arms of the state should be entrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named, either by common agreement between him

and the Parliament, or one-half by him, the other by the Parliament. And after the expiration of that term, he insisted that his constitutional authority over the militia should again return to him [g].

The parliamentary commissioners at first demanded, that the power of the sword should for ever be entrusted to such persons as the Parliament alone should appoint [h]: but afterwards they relaxed so far as to require that authority only for seven years; after which it was not to return to the king, but to be settled by bill, or by common agreement, between him and his Parliament [i]. The king's commissioners asked, Whether jealousies and fears were all on one side; and whether the prince, from such violent attempts and pretensions as he had experienced, had not, at least, as good reason to entertain apprehensions for his authority, as they for their liberty? Whether there were any equity in securing only one party, and leaving the other, during the space of seven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? Whether, if unlimited power were entrusted to the Parliament during so long a period, it would not be easy for them to frame the subsequent bill in the manner most agreeable to themselves, and keep for ever possession of the sword, as well as of every article of civil power and jurisdiction [k].

The truth is, after the commencement of war, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find security for both parties, especially for that of the Parliament. Amidst such violent animosities, power alone could ensure safety; and the power of one side was necessarily attended with danger to the other. Few or no instances occur in history of an equal, peaceful, and durable accommodation, that has been concluded between two factions which had been inflamed into civil war.

With regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The Parliament demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given over entirely to the Parliament; and that, after the conquest of Ireland, the nomination of the lord-lieutenant and of the judges, or, in other words, the

[g] Dugdale, p. 798. [h] Ibid. p. 791. [i] Ibid. p. 820. [k] Ibid. p. 877.

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sovereignty of that kingdom, should likewise remain in their hands[l].

What rendered an accommodation more desperate was, that the demands on these three heads, however exorbitant, were acknowledged, by the parliamentary commissioners, to be nothing but preliminaries. After all these were granted, it would be necessary to proceed to the discussion of those other demands, still more exorbitant, which a little before had been transmitted to the king at Oxford. Such ignominious terms were there insisted on, that worse could scarcely be demanded, were Charles totally vanquished, a prisoner, and in chains. The king was required to attaint, and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scottish, together with all popish recusants in both kingdoms, who had borne arms for him. It was insisted that forty-eight more, with all the members who had sitten in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbidden the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the Parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. As if royal authority were not sufficiently annihilated by such terms, it was demanded that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by Parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly[m]. The presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed only in words from the independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose during twenty days among the commissioners, they separated, and returned; those of the king, to Oxford, those of the Parliament, to London.

A little before the commencement of this fruitless treaty, a deed was executed by the Parliament, which

[l] Dugdale, p. 826, 827.

[m] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 850. Dugdale, p. 737.

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proved their determined resolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the same violent and imperious manner with which they had at first entered on these dangerous enterprises. Archbishop Laud, the most favourite minister of the king, was brought to the scaffold; and in this instance the public might see that popular assemblies, as, by their very number, they are, in a great measure, exempt from the restraint of shame, so, when they also overleap the bounds of law, naturally break out into acts of the greatest tyranny and injustice. Execution of Laud.

From the time that Laud had been committed, the House of Commons, engaged in enterprises of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; and he had patiently endured so long an imprisonment without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the bigoted prejudices of that nation revived the like spirit in England; and the sectaries resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate, who had so long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealous spirit under confinement. He was accused of high treason in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The same illegality of an accumulative crime and a constructive evidence, which appeared in the case of Strafford; the same violence and iniquity in conducting the trial; are conspicuous throughout the whole course of this prosecution. The groundless charge of popery, though belied by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged against the prisoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was supposed to imply the height of all enormities. "This man, my lords," said Serjeant Wilde, concluding his long speech against him, "is like Naaman the Syrian; a great man, but a leper[n]."

We shall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at present, seems to admit of little controversy. It suffices to say, that, after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the Commons found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against Laud, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance

[n] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 830.

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for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithstanding the low condition into which the House of Peers was fallen, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the Upper House. Seven peers alone voted in this important question. The rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves[o].

Laud, who had behaved during his trial with spirit and vigour of genius, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but though he had usually professed himself apprehensive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be dissipated before that superior courage by which he was animated. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go." Even upon the scaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was harassed and molested by Sir John Clotworthy, a zealot of the reigning sect, and a great leader in the Lower House: this was the time he chose for examining the principles of the dying prelate, and trepanning him into a confession that he trusted for his salvation to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer[p]. Having extricated himself from these theological toils, the archbishop laid his head on the block; and it was severed from his body at one blow[q]. Those religious opinions, for which he suffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and constancy of his end. Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however misguided, actuated by pious motives in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted that a man of such spirit, who conducted his enterprises with so much warmth and industry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of society.

The great and important advantage which the party gained by Strafford's death may, in some degree, palliate the iniquity of the sentence pronounced against him. But the execution of this old infirm prelate, who had so long remained an inoffensive prisoner, can be ascribed to

[o] Warwick, p. 169.

[p] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 838, 839.

[q] 12th of July, 1644.

nothing but vengeance and bigotry in those severe religionists, by whom the Parliament was entirely governed. That he deserved a better fate was not questioned by any reasonable man: the degree of his merit, in other repects, was disputed. Some accused him of recommending slavish doctrines, of promoting persecution, and of encouraging superstition; while others thought that his conduct, in these three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation.

That the *letter* of the law, as much as the most flaming court-sermon, inculcates passive obedience, is apparent. And though the *spirit* of a limited government seems to require, in extraordinary cases, some mitigation of so rigorous a doctrine; it must be confessed that the preceding genius of the English constitution had rendered a mistake in this particular very natural and excusable. To inflict death, at least, on those who depart from the exact line of truth in these nice questions, so far from being favourable to national liberty, savours strongly of the spirit of tyranny and proscription.

Toleration had hitherto been so little the principle of any Christian sect, that even the Catholics, the remnant of the religion professed by their forefathers, could not obtain from the English the least indulgence. This very House of Commons, in their famous remonstrance, took care to justify themselves, as from the highest imputation, from any intention to relax the golden reins of discipline, as they called them, or to grant any toleration[r]: and the enemies of the church were so fair from the beginning, as not to lay claim to liberty of conscience, which they called a toleration for soul murder. They openly challenged the superiority, and even menaced the established church with that persecution which they afterwards exercised against her with such severity. And if the question be considered in the view of policy; though a sect, already formed and advanced, may, with good reason, demand a toleration; what title had the puritans to this indulgence, who were just on the point of separation from the church, and whom, it might be hoped, some wholesome and legal severities would still retain in obedience[s]?

[r] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 705.

[s] See note [I], at the end of the volume.

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Whatever ridicule, to a philosophical mind, may be thrown on pious ceremonies, it must be confessed that, during a very religious age, no institutions can be more advantageous to the rude multitude, and tend more to mollify that fierce and gloomy spirit of devotion to which they are subject. Even the English church, though it had retained a share of popish ceremonies, may justly be thought too naked and unadorned, and still to approach too near the abstract and spiritual religion of the puritans. Laud and his associates, by reviving a few primitive institutions of this nature, corrected the error of the first reformers, and presented to the affrightened and astonished mind, some sensible, exterior observances, which might occupy it during its religious exercises, and abate the violence of its disappointed efforts. The thought, no longer bent on that divine and mysterious essence so superior to the narrow capacities of mankind, was able, by means of the new model of devotion, to relax itself in the contemplation of pictures, postures, vestments, buildings; and all the fine arts which minister to religion thereby received additional encouragement. The primate, it is true, conducted this scheme, not with the enlarged sentiments and cool reflection of a legislator, but with the intemperate zeal of a sectary; and, by overlooking the circumstances of the times, served rather to inflame that religious fury which he meant to repress. But this blemish is more to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud's; and it is sufficient for his vindication to observe, that his errors were the most excusable of all those which prevailed during that zealous period.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Montrose's Victories.—The new Model of the Army.—Battle of Naseby.—Surrender of Bristol.—The West conquered by Fairfax.—Defeat of Montrose.—Ecclesiastical Affairs.—King goes to the Scots at Newark.—End of the War.—King delivered up by the Scots.

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While the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel.

Montrose's victories.

Before the commencement of these civil disorders, the Earl of Montrose, a young nobleman of a distinguished family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made an offer of his services; but by the insinuations of the Marquis, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, who possessed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that distinction to which he thought himself justly entitled[a]. Disgusted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and, agreeably to the natural ardour of his genius, he had employed himself, during the first Scottish insurrection, with great zeal as well as success, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commissioned by the *Tables* to wait upon the king, while the royal army lay at Berwick, he was so gained by the civilities and caresses of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himself entirely, though secretly, to his service, and entered into a close correspondence with him. In the second insurrection, a great military command was entrusted to him by the covenanters; and he was the first that passed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invasion of England. He found means, however, soon after, to convey a letter to the king; and by the infidelity of some about that prince, (Hamilton, as was suspected,) a copy of this letter was sent to Leven, the Scottish general. Being accused of treachery, and a correspondence with the enemy, Montrose openly avowed the letter, and asked the generals if they dared to call their sovereign an

[a] Nalson, Intr. p. 63.

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enemy; and by this bold and magnanimous behaviour, he escaped the danger of an immediate prosecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles; and he endeavoured to draw those who had entertained like sentiments, into a bond of association for his master's service. Though thrown into prison for this enterprise[b], and detained some time, he was not discouraged; but still continued, by his countenance and protection, to infuse spirit into the distressed royalists. Among other persons of distinction, who united themselves to him, was Lord Napier of Merchiston, son of the famous inventor of the logarithms, the person to whom the title of GREAT MAN is more justly due, than to any other whom his country ever produced.

There was in Scotland another party, who professing equal attachment to the king's service, pretended only to differ with Montrose about the means of attaining the same end; and of that party, Duke Hamilton was the leader. This nobleman had cause to be extremely devoted to the king, not only by reason of the connexion of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favour with which he had ever been honoured by his master. Being accused by Lord Rae, not without some appearance of probability, of a conspiracy against the king; Charles was so far from harbouring suspicion against him, that the very first time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bedchamber, and passed alone the night with him[c]. But such was the duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he escaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and sovereign; and though he at last sacrificed his life in the king's service, his integrity and sincerity have not been thought by historians entirely free from blemish. Perhaps (and this is the more probable opinion) the subtilties and refinements of his conduct and his temporizing maxims, though accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cause of a suspicion which has never yet been either fully proved or refuted. As much as the

[b] It is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman; that he offered the king, when his majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the king was in Scotland, Montrose was confined to prison. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 980.

[c] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 683.

bold and vivid spirit of Montrose prompted him to enterprising measures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to such as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold that the Scottish covenanters were secretly forming an union with the English Parliament, and inculcated the necessity of preventing them by some vigorous undertaking; the latter still insisted that every such attempt would precipitate them into measures to which, otherwise, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scottish convention was summoned without the king's authority, the former exclaimed that their intentions were now visible, and that, if some unexpected blow were not struck to dissipate them, they would arm the whole nation against the king; the latter maintained the possibility of outvoting the disaffected party, and securing, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the kingdom[d]. Unhappily for the royal cause, Hamilton's representations met with more credit from the king and queen than those of Montrose; and the covenanters were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hostile measures. Montrose then hastened to Oxford; where his invectives against Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepossession, and supported by the unfortunate event of his counsels, were entertained with universal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, more than his own suspicions, Charles, as soon as Hamilton appeared, sent him prisoner to Pendennis castle, in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was also put under confinement, found means to make his escape, and to fly into Scotland.

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The king's ears were now opened to Montrose's counsels, who proposed none but the boldest and most daring, agreeably to the desperate state of the royal cause in Scotland. Though the whole nation was subjected by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant administration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends who remained to the king, to raise such commotions, as would soon oblige the malecontents to recall those forces which had so sensibly thrown the

[d] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 380, 381. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 980. Wishart, cap. 2.

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balance in favour of the Parliament[e]. Not discouraged with the defeat at Marston-moor, which rendered it impossible for him to draw any succour from England; he was content to stipulate with the Earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for some supply of men from that country. And he himself, changing his disguises, and passing through many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the highlands, and secretly prepared the minds of his partisans for attempting some great enterprise[f].

No sooner were the Irish landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause: and with this combined force he hastened to attack Lord Elcho, who lay at Perth, with an army of six thousand men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in number, totally unprovided with horse, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on but the courage which he himself, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterprises, should inspire into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was answered chiefly by a volley of stones, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters[g].

This victory, though it augmented the renown of Montrose, increased not his power or numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom was extremely attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a considerable army; Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouse again

[e] Wishart, cap. 3.
[f] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 618. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 982. Wishart, cap. 4.
[g] 1st of Sept. 1644. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 983. Wishart, cap. 5.

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the Marquis of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having before hastily taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the Earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy: the eldest was at that time prisoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen the Lord Burley, who commanded a force of two thousand five hundred men. After a sharp combat, by his undaunted courage, which, in his situation, was true policy, and was also not unaccompanied with military skill, he put the enemy to flight, and in the pursuit did great execution upon them [h].

But by this second advantage he obtained not the end which he expected. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montrose's glory, rendered him averse to join an army where he himself must be so much eclipsed by the superior merit of the general. Argyle, reinforced by the Earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: the militia of the northern counties, Murray, Ross, Caithness, to the number of five thousand men, opposed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude these numerous armies, he turned aside into the hills, and saved his weak but active troops in Badenoch. After some marches and countermarches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy castle. This nobleman's character, though celebrated for political courage and conduct, was very low for military prowess; and after some skirmishes, in which he was worsted, he here allowed Montrose to escape him. By quick marches through these inaccessible mountains, that general freed himself from the superior forces of the covenanters.

Such was the situation of Montrose, that very good or very ill fortune was equally destructive to him, and diminished his army. After every victory, his soldiers, greedy of spoil, but deeming the smallest acquisition to be unexhausted riches, deserted in great numbers, and went home to secure the treasures which they had acquired. Tired, too, and spent with hasty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through snowy mountains, unprovided with every necessary, they fell off, and

[h] 11th of Sept. 1644. Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 983. Wishart, cap. 7.

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left their general almost alone with the Irish, who, having no place to which they could retire, still adhered to him in every fortune.

With these, and some reinforcements of the Athole men and Macdonalds whom he had recalled, Montrose fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, and let loose upon it all the rage of war; carrying off the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. This severity, by which Montrose sullied his victories, was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause. Argyle, collecting three thousand men, marched in quest of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, supposing himself still at a considerable distance from them. The Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garrison of Inverness, who were veteran soldiers, joined to five thousand new levied troops of the northern counties, pressed the royalists on the other side, and threatened them with inevitable destruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montrose hastened to Innerlochy, and presented himself in order of battle before the surprised, but not affrightened, covenanters. Argyle alone, seized with a panic, deserted his army, who still maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royalists. After a vigorous resistance, they were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter[i]. And the power of the Campbells (that is, Argyle's name) being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, began to join Montrose's camp in great numbers. Seaforth's army dispersed of itself, at the very terror of his name. And Lord Gordon, eldest son of Huntley, having escaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montrose, with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother, the Earl of Aboine.

2d Feb.

The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montrose's progress, began to think of a more regular plan of defence against an enemy whose repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They sent for Baillie, an officer of reputation, from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again enlisted

[i] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 985. Wishart, cap. 8.

himself among the king's enemies, they sent them to the field with a considerable army against the royalists. Montrose, with a detachment of eight hundred men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant, and having carried it by assault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him [k]. His conduct and presence of mind, in this emergence, appeared conspicuous. Instantly he called off his soldiers from plunder, put them in order, secured his retreat by the most skilful measures; and having marched sixty miles in the face of an enemy much superior, without stopping, or allowing his soldiers the least sleep or refreshment, he at last secured himself in the mountains. CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

Baillie and Urrey now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war against an enemy who surprised them as much by the rapidity of his marches as by the boldness of his enterprises. Urrey, at the head of four thousand men, met him at Alderne, near Inverness; and encouraged by the superiority of number, (for the covenanters were double the royalists,) attacked him in the post which he had chosen. Montrose, having placed his right wing in strong ground, drew the best of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by showing a few men through the trees and bushes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leisure to perceive the stratagem, he instantly led his left wing to the charge; and making a furious impression upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory [l]. In this battle, the valour of young Napier, son to the lord of that name, shone out with signal lustre.

Baillie now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's discomfiture; but at Alford he met, himself, with a like fate [m]. Montrose, weak in cavalry, here lined his troops of horse with infantry; and after putting the enemy's horse to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, who were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loss of the gallant

[k] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 228. Wishart, cap. 9.
[l] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 229. Wishart, cap. 10.
[m] 2d of July.

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Lord Gordon on the part of the royalists [n]. And having thus prevailed in so many battles, which his vigour ever rendered as decisive as they were successful, he summoned together all his friends and partisans, and prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and dissipate the Parliament which, with great pomp and solemnity, they had summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's.

While the fire was thus kindled in the north of the island, it blazed out with no less fury in the south: the parliamentary and royal armies, as soon as the season would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick decision. The passing of the self-denying ordinance had been protracted by so many debates and intrigues, that the spring was far advanced before it received the sanction of both Houses; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, so near the time of action, such great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Essex engaged him amidst all the disgusts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the Parliament, this alteration had not been effected without some fatal accident; since, notwithstanding his prompt resignation of the command, a mutiny was generally apprehended [o]. Fairfax, or, more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced at last, the *new model* into the army, and threw the troops into a different shape. From the same men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands as the independents could rely on. Besides members of Parliament who were excluded, many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction.

Though the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorously executed, by these new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffused over the one party as well as the other during this period; discipline also was attained by the forces of the Parliament: but the perfection of the military art in concerting the general plans of

[n] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 229. Wishart, cap. 11. [o] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 126, 127.

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action, and the operations of the field, seems still, on both sides, to have been in a great measure wanting. Historians, at least, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valour and fortune chiefly determined the success. The great ornament of history during these reigns are the civil, not the military transactions.

New model of the army.

Never surely was a more singular army assembled than that which was now set on foot by the Parliament. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed. The officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, exhortations; and the same emulation there attended them, which in the field is so necessary to support the honour of that profession. Rapturous ecstasies supplied the place of study and reflection; and while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they mistook that eloquence which, to their own surprise, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illapses of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the minister from his pulpit; and, usurping his place, conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervour. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, in ghostly conferences, where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field resounded, as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion, as with the instruments of military music [p]; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before him. In so holy a cause, wounds were esteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action,

[p] Dugdale, p. 7. Rushw. vol. vi. p. 281.

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instead of banishing their pious visions, rather served to impress their minds more strongly with them.

The royalists were desirous of throwing a ridicule on this fanaticism of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number, to their adversaries; but actuated by a very different spirit. That licence, which had been introduced by want of pay, had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the soldiery, had indulged the troops in unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder: and the licentious Goring, Gerrard, Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of enormity. In the west especially, where Goring commanded, universal spoil and havoc were committed; and the whole country was laid waste by the rapine of the army. All distinction of parties being in a manner dropped, the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy wished there for such success to the parliamentary forces as might put an end to these oppressions. The country people, despoiled of their substance, flocked together in several places, armed with clubs and staves; and though they professed an enmity to the soldiers of both parties, their hatred was, in most places, levelled chiefly against the royalists, from whom they had met with the worst treatment. Many thousands of these tumultuary peasants were assembled in different parts of England; who destroyed all such straggling soldiers as they met with, and much infested the armies [q].

The disposition of the forces on both sides was as follows: part of the Scottish army was employed in taking Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkshire: part of it besieged Carlisle, valiantly defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by Sir William Brereton; and was reduced to great difficulties. The king, being joined by

[q] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 52. 61, 62. Whitlocke, p. 130, 131, 133. 135. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 665.

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the Princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a considerable army, about fifteen thousand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were posted at Windsor, with the new-modelled army, about twenty-two thousand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerset, defended by Blake, suffered a long siege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about eight thousand men; and though the defence had been obstinate, the garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. Goring commanded, in the west, an army of nearly the same number [r].

On opening the campaign, the king formed the project of relieving Chester; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The king was first in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Shropshire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence that his approach had raised the siege, and that the parliamentary army had withdrawn. Fairfax, having reached Salisbury in his road westward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay siege to Oxford, now exposed by the king's absence. He obeyed, after sending Colonel Weldon to the west, with a detachment of four thousand men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raised the siege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: but the royalists, being reinforced with three thousand horse under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and shut up Weldon, with his small army, in that ruinous place [s].

The king, having effected his purpose with regard to Chester, returned southwards; and in his way, sat down before Leicester, a garrison of the Parliament's. Having made a breach in the wall, he stormed the town on all sides; and after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders to which their natural violence, especially when inflamed by resistance, is so much addicted [t]. A great booty was taken and distributed among them: fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the king's hands. This success, which

[r] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 18, 19, &c.
[s] Idem, ibid. p. 28.
[t] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 652.

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struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and he marched towards the king, with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. A council of war was called by the king, in order to deliberate concerning the measures which he should now pursue. On the one hand, it seemed more prudent to delay the combat: because Gerrard, who lay in Wales with three thousand men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army; and Goring, it was hoped, would soon be master of Taunton; and having put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the king, and give him an incontestable superiority over the enemy. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, whose boiling ardour still pushed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: the resolution was taken to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

Battle of Naseby.

At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well disputed action between the king and Parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king himself; the right wing by Prince Rupert; the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army; Cromwell in the right wing; Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his usual celerity and usual success, by Prince Rupert. Though Ireton made stout resistance, and, even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was that whole wing broken, and pursued with precipitate fury by Rupert: he was even so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The king led on his main body, and

displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a stout soldier[u]. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation which they had acquired. Skippon being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but he declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground[w]. The infantry of the Parliament was broken, and pressed upon by the king; till Fairfax, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve and renewed the combat. Meanwhile Cromwell, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by his prudence improved that advantage which he had gained by his valour. Having pursued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying, he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: and that general, excited by so steady a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his lifeguard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards boasting that he had won this trophy, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action: *Let him retain that honour*, said Fairfax, *I have to-day acquired enough beside*[x].

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Prince Rupert, sensible too late of his error, left the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, *One charge more and we recover the day*[y]. But the disadvantages under which they laboured were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy[z]. The slain on the side of the Parliament exceeded those on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men;

u Whitlocke, p. 146.
w Rushw. vol. vii. p. 43. Whitlocke, p. 145.
x Whitlocke, p. 145.
y Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 44.
z Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 656, 657. Walker, p. 130, 131.

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he not above eight hundred: but Fairfax made five hundred officers prisoners, and four thousand private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition; and totally dissipated his infantry: so that scarce any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained.

Among the other spoils was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the Parliament afterwards ordered to be published [a]. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect dishonour on him: yet, upon the whole, the letters are written with delicacy and tenderness, and give an advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals. A mighty fondness, it is true, and attachment, he expresses to his consort, and often professes that he never would embrace any measures which she disapproved: but such declarations of civility and confidence are not always to be taken in a full literal sense. And so legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excusable towards a woman of beauty and spirit, even though she was a Papist [b].

The Athenians having intercepted a letter written by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife Olympia, so far from being moved by a curiosity of prying into the secrets of that relation, immediately sent the letter to the queen unopened. Philip was not their sovereign, nor were they inflamed with that violent animosity against him, which attends all civil commotions.

After the battle the king retreated with that body of horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, from the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. Fairfax, having first retaken Leicester, which was surrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprises.

17th June.

[a] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 658.

[b] Hearne has published the following extract from a manuscript work of Sir Simon D'Ewes, who was no mean man in the parliamentary party. "On Thursday, the 30th and last day of this instant, June, 1625, I went to Whitehall, purposely to see the queen, which I did fully all the time she sat at dinner. I perceiv'd her to be a most absolute delicate lady, after I had exactly survey'd all the features of her face, much enlivened by her radiant and sparkling black eyes. Besides, her deportment among her women was so sweet and humble, and her speech and looks to her other servants so mild and gracious, as I could not abstain from divers deep-fetched sighs, to consider that she wanted the knowledge of the true religion." See Preface to the Chronicle of Dunstable, p. 64.

A letter was brought him written by Goring to the king, and unfortunately entrusted to a spy of Fairfax's. Goring there informed the king, that in three weeks he hoped to be master of Taunton; after which he would join his majesty with all the forces in the west; and entreated him, in the meanwhile, to avoid coming to any general action. This letter, which, had it been safely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naseby, served now to direct the operations of Fairfax[c]. After leaving a body of three thousand men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the king's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force which now remained to the royalists. CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, had sent the Prince of Wales, then fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the Parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised; and the royalists retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, beat them from it, killed about three hundred men, and took one thousand four hundred prisoners[d]. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong, and of great consequence in that country. When he had entered the outer town by storm, Windham, the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of two thousand six hundred men, were made prisoners of war. 20th July. 23rd July.

Fairfax, having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to lay siege to Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprise which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of Prince Rupert the governor, was deemed of the last importance. But so precarious, in most men, is this quality of military courage! a poorer

[c] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 49.

[d] Idem, ibid. p. 55.

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defence was not made by any town during the whole war; and the general expectations were here extremely disappointed. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax[e]. A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it. Charles, who was forming schemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was little less fatal to his cause than the defeat at Naseby[f]. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all Prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea[g].

11th Sept. Surrender of Bristol.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle[h], after an obstinate siege, marched southwards, and laid siege to Hereford, but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach; and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces under Colonel Jones; Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. While the fight was continued with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, Jones fell upon them from the other side, and put them to rout, with the loss of six hundred slain, and one thousand prisoners[i]. The king, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season.

24th Sept.

The news which he received from every quarter was no less fatal than those events which passed where he himself was present. Fairfax and Cromwell, after the surrender of Bristol, having divided their forces, the former marched westwards, in order to complete the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall; the latter attacked the king's garrisons which lay to the east of Bristol. The Devizes were surrendered to Cromwell: Berkley-castle was taken by storm; Winchester capitulated; Basing-house was entered sword in hand; and all these

[e] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 83. [f] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 690. Walker, p. 137.
[g] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 695. [h] 28th June. [i] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 117.

middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the Parliament. CHAP. LVIII.

The same rapid and uninterrupted success attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elated by past victories, governed by the most rigid discipline, met with no equal opposition from troops dismayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. After beating up the quarters of the royalists at Bovey-Tracey, Fairfax sat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by storm. Poudram-castle being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on all sides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royalists, having advanced to the relief of that town, with an army of eight thousand men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated, all his foot dispersed, and he himself, with his horse, obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorously pursued the victory. Having enclosed the royalists at Truro, he forced the whole army, consisting of five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms. The soldiers, delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and received twenty shillings apiece, to carry them to their respective abodes. Such of the officers as desired it had passes to retire beyond sea; the others, having promised never more to bear arms, paid compositions to the Parliament[k], and procured their pardon[l]. And thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed the conquest of the west, marched with his victorious army to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The Prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, thence to Jersey; whence he went to Paris; where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter at the time the Earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the west.

1646. The west conquered by Fairfax.

18th Jan.

19th Feb.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by surprise: Chester surrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted with one thousand two hundred horse to break into Scotland, and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkshire, by Colonel Copley: his whole force

[k] These compositions were different, according to the demerits of the person: but by a vote of the House they could not be under two years' rent of the delinquent's estate. Journ. 11th of August, 1648. Whitlocke, p. 160.

[l] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 108.

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was dispersed; and he himself was obliged to fly, first to the Isle of Man, thence to Ireland. News too arrived that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was at last routed; and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguished.

When Montrose descended into the southern counties, the covenanters, assembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without success, at Kilsyth[m]. This was the most complete victory that Montrose ever obtained. The royalists put to the sword six thousand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was shaken with these repeated successes of Montrose; and many noblemen, who secretly favoured the royal cause, now declared openly for it, when they saw a force able to support them. The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the Lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal standard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the prisoners there detained by the covenanters. Among the rest was Lord Ogilvy, son of Airly, whose family had contributed extremely to the victory gained at Kilsyth[n].

David Lesley was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his distressed party in Scotland. Montrose advanced still farther to the south, allured by vain hopes, both of rousing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxburgh, who had promised to join him; and of obtaining from England some supply of cavalry, in which he was deficient. By the negligence of his scouts, Lesley, at Philiphaugh in the Forest, surprised his army, much diminished in numbers, from the desertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to custom, in order to secure their plunder. After a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted great valour, his forces were routed by Lesley's cavalry[o]; and he himself was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himself for new battles and new enterprises[p].

Defeat of Montrose.

The covenanters used the victory with vigour. Their

[m] 15th August, 1645.
[n] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 230, 231. Wishart, cap. 13.
[o] 13th of Sept. 1645.
[p] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 231.

prisoners, Sir Robert Spotiswood, secretary of state, and son to the late primate, Sir Philip Nisbet, Sir William Rollo, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, son of the Bishop of Murray, William Murray, son of the Earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The sole crime imputed to the secretary was his delivering to Montrose the king's commission to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken prisoner, would have undergone the same fate, had not his sister found means to procure his escape by changing clothes with him. For this instance of courage and dexterity she met with harsh usage. The clergy solicited the Parliament that more royalists might be executed; but could not obtain their request [q]. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

After all these repeated disasters, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Astley, with a small army of three thousand men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Stowe by Colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated; himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your work," said Astley to the Parliamentary officers, "and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves [r]." 22d Mar.

The condition of the king, during this whole winter, was to the last degree disastrous and melancholy. As the dread of ills is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigour of mind, which, though it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him in his sufferings, was what alone supported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to Lord Digby, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends, he said, ever have reason to blush for the prince whom they had so unfortunately served [s]. The murmurs of discontented officers, on the one hand, harassed their unhappy sove-

[q] Guthry's Memoirs. Rushw. vol. vii. p. 232.

[r] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 141. It was the same Astley who, before he charged at the battle of Edgehill, made this short prayer: *O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me.* And with that, rose up, and cried, *March on, boys!* Warwick, p. 229. There were certainly much longer prayers said in the parliamentary army; but I doubt if there were so good a one.

[s] Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. No. 433.

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reign; while they overrated those services and sufferings which, they now saw, must for ever go unrewarded [t]. The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, who respected his misfortunes and his virtues as much as his dignity, wrung his heart with a new sorrow; when he reflected that such disinterested attachment would so soon be exposed to the rigour of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceful and equitable accommodation with the Parliament, served to no purpose but to convince them that the victory was entirely in their hands. They deigned not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners [u]. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing bills for him; and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: in other words, he must yield at discretion [w]. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe-conduct for himself and his attendants: they absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding, that is, the seizing, of his person in case he should attempt to visit them [x]. A new incident which happened in Ireland served to inflame the minds of men, and to increase those calumnies with which his enemies had so much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the most grievous part of his misfortunes.

After the cessation with the Irish rebels, the king was desirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their assistance in England: and he gave authority to Ormond, lord-lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws enacted against Catholics; together with the suspension of Poining's statute with regard to some particular bills which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, (though his patent had not yet passed the seals,) having occasion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the king considered that this nobleman, being a Catholic, and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: he also fore-

[t] Walker, p. 147. [u] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 215, &c.
[w] Idem, ibid. p. 217. 219. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 744.
[x] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 249. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 741.

saw that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the bigoted Irish; and that, as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the Protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character, by giving private orders to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and though the final conclusion of the treaty must be executed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the lord-lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigoted to his religion, and passionate for the king's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed, in the king's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the king in England with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was discovered by accident. The titular Archbishop of Tuam being killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and were immediately published every where, and copies of them sent over to the English Parliament[y]. The lord-lieutenant and Lord Digby, foreseeing the clamour which would be raised against the king, committed Glamorgan to prison, charged him with treason for his temerity, and maintained that he had acted altogether without any authority from his master. The English Parliament, however, neglected not so favourable an opportunity of reviving the whole clamour with regard to the king's favour of popery, and accused him of delivering over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated sect. The king told them "that the Earl of Glamorgan, having made an offer to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his majesty's service, had a commission to that pur-

[y] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 239.

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pose, and to that purpose only, and that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privity and direction of the lord-lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion, or any property belonging either to church or laity[z]." Though this declaration seems agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the Parliament; and some historians, even at present, when the ancient bigotry is somewhat abated, are desirous of representing this very innocent transaction, in which the king was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate prince[a].

Having lost all hope of prevailing over the rigour of the Parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only resource which remained to the king was derived from the intestine dissensions, which ran very high among his enemies. Presbyterians and Independents, even before their victory was fully completed, fell into contests about the division of the spoil, and their religious as well as civil disputes agitated the whole kingdom.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

The Parliament, though they had early abolished episcopal authority, had not, during so long a time, substituted any other spiritual government in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto assumed the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction: but they now established, by an ordinance, the presbyterian model in all its forms of *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *national* assemblies. All the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and choose elders, on whom, together with the minister, was bestowed the entire direction of all spiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court, which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed entirely of clergymen: the national assembly was constituted in the same manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. It is probable that the tyranny exercised by the Scottish clergy had given warning not

[z] Birch, p. 119.

[a] See note [K], at the end of the volume.

to allow laymen a place in the provincial or national assemblies; lest the nobility and more considerable gentry, soliciting a seat in these great ecclesiastical courts, should bestow a consideration upon them, and render them in the eyes of the multitude a rival to the Parliament. In the inferior courts, the mixture of the laity might serve rather to temper the usual zeal of the clergy[b].

But though the presbyterians, by the establishment of parity among the ecclesiastics, were so far gratified, they were denied satisfaction in several other points on which they were extremely intent. The assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right. The Parliament refused their assent to that decision[c]. Selden, Whitlocke, and other political reasoners, assisted by the independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought that, had the bigoted religionists been able to get their heavenly charter recognized, the presbyters would soon become more dangerous to the magistrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. These latter, while they claimed to themselves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority: the former, challenging to their own order a celestial pedigree, derived the legislative power from a source no more dignified than the voluntary association of the people.

Under colour of keeping the sacraments from profanation, the clergy of all Christian sects had assumed what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication. The example of Scotland was a sufficient lesson for the Parliament to use precaution in guarding against so severe a tyranny. They determined, by a general ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be used. They allowed of appeals to Parliament from all ecclesiastical courts. And they appointed commissioners in every province to judge of such cases as fell not within their general ordinance[d]. So much civil authority, intermixed with the ecclesiastical, gave disgust to all the zealots.

But nothing was attended with more universal scandal than the propensity of many in the Parliament towards

[b] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 224.
[c] Whitlocke, p. 106. Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 260, 261.
[d] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 210.

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a toleration of the Protestant sectaries. The presbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted, that the least of Christ's truths was superior to all political considerations[e]. They maintained the eternal obligation imposed by the covenant to extirpate heresy and schism. And they menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution under which they themselves had groaned, when held in subjection by the hierarchy.

So great prudence and reserve, in such material points, does great honour to the Parliament; and proves that, notwithstanding the prevalence of bigotry and fanaticism, there were many members who had more enlarged views, and paid regard to the civil interests of society. These men, uniting themselves to the enthusiasts, whose genius is naturally averse to clerical usurpations, exercised so jealous an authority over the assembly of divines, that they allowed them nothing but the liberty of tendering advice, and would not entrust them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his substitute, or of supplying the vacancies of their own members.

While these disputes were canvassed by theologians, who engaged in their spiritual contests every order of the state; the king, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from those divisions, was much at a loss which side it would be most for his interest to comply with. The presbyterians were, by their principles, the least averse to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: the independents were resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, it might be hoped that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-establishment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the king to episcopal jurisdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in balance even with his own power and kingly office.

But whatever advantage he might hope to reap from the divisions in the parliamentary party, he was apprehensive lest it should come too late to save him from the destruction with which he was instantly threatened.

[e] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 308.

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Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. To be taken captive and led in triumph by his insolent enemies was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult, if not violence, was to be dreaded from that enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure which, in any other situation, might lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion.

Montreville, the French minister, interested for the king more by the natural sentiments of humanity than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favour the Parliament, had solicited the Scottish generals and commissioners to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the king. From his suggestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark[f]. He considered that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact from him. In all disputes which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavoured to soften the rigour of the English Parliament. Great disgusts also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scots found that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infringing of ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence; and the king hoped that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince flying to them in this extremity of distress would rouse

[f] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 750; vol. v. p. 16.

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every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favour and protection.

That he might the better conceal his intentions, orders were given at every gate in Oxford for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through Henley, St. Alban's, and came so near to London as Harrow-on-the-hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the Parliament. But at last, after passing through many cross roads, he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark [g]. The Parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death whoever should harbour or conceal him [h].

5th May. King goes to the Scotch camp at Newark.

The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king; and though they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly set a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English Parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king. They applied to him for orders to Bellasis, governor of Newark, to surrender that town, now reduced to extremity, and the orders were instantly obeyed. And hearing that the Parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, and that the English army was making some motions towards them, they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcastle [i].

This measure was very grateful to the king; and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scots. He was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole Scripture was ransacked by the clergy for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister who preached before the king chose

[g] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 267. [h] Whitlocke, p. 209.
[i] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 271. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23.

these words for his text: "And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto him, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel[k]." But the king soon found that the happiness chiefly of the allusion had tempted the preacher to employ this text, and that the covenanting zealots were nowise pacified towards him. Another preacher, after reproaching him to his face with his misgovernment, ordered this psalm to be sung:

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour.

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majesty, showed, for once, greater deference to the king than to the minister, and sung the psalm which the former had called for[l].

Charles had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. He not only found himself a prisoner very strictly guarded: all his friends were kept at a distance; and no intercourse, either by letters or conversation, was allowed him, with any one on whom he could depend, or who was suspected of any attachment towards him. The Scottish generals would enter into no confidence with him; and still treated him with distant ceremony

[k] 2 Sam. chap. xix. verses 41, 42, and 43. See Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23, 24.
[l] Whitlocke, p. 234.

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and feigned respect. And every proposal which they made him tended farther to his abasement and to his ruin [m].

They required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the Parliament: and the king, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, willingly complied. The terms given to most of them were honourable; and Fairfax, as far as lay in his power, was very exact in observing them. Far from allowing violence, he would not even permit insults, or triumph over the unfortunate royalists; and by his generous humanity, so cruel a civil war was ended, in appearance very calmly, between the parties.

Ormond, having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montrose also, after having experienced still more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms and retired out of the kingdom.

The Marquis of Worcester, a man past eighty-four, was the last in England that submitted to the authority of the Parliament. He defended Raglan castle to extremity; and opened not its gates till the middle of August. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapsed, since the king first erected his standard at Nottingham [n]. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their native country.

The Parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king. They were such as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the most inexorable victor: yet they were little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the king now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the Parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king [o].

Charles said, that proposals which introduced such important innovations in the constitution demanded time

[m] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 30. [n] Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 293.
[o] Idem, ibid. p. 309.

for deliberation: the commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days [p]. He desired to reason about the meaning and import of some terms: they informed him that they had no power of debate; and peremptorily required his consent or refusal. He requested a personal treaty with the Parliament: they threatened, that if he delayed compliance, the Parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation.

What the Parliament was most intent upon was, not their treaty with the king, to whom they paid little regard, but that with the Scots. Two important points remained to be settled with that nation; their delivery of the king, and the estimation of their arrears.

The Scots might pretend, that, as Charles was king of Scotland as well as of England, they were entitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person; and that, in such a case, where the titles are equal, and the subject indivisible, the preference was due to the present possessor. The English maintained, that the king, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. A delicate question this, and what surely could not be decided by precedent, since such a situation is not, any where, to be found in history [q].

As the Scots concurred with the English in imposing such severe conditions on the king, that, notwithstanding his unfortunate situation, he still refused to accept of them; it is certain that they did not desire his freedom: nor could they ever intend to join lenity and rigour together, in so inconsistent a manner. Before the settlement of terms, the administration must be possessed entirely by the Parliaments of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that scheme with the liberty of the king is easily imagined. To carry him a prisoner into Scotland, where few forces could be supported to guard him, was a measure so full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the English had consented to it, it must have appeared to the Scots themselves altogether ineligible: and how could such a plan be supported in opposition to England, possessed of such numerous and victorious armies, which were, at that time, at least seemed to be, in entire union

[p] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 319.

[q] Idem, ibid. p. 339.

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

with the Parliament? The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scots could embrace, if they scrupled wholly to abandon the king, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance: and uniting themselves with the royalists in both kingdoms, endeavour, by force of arms, to reduce the English Parliament to more moderate conditions: but, besides that this measure was full of extreme hazard, what was it but instantly to combine with their old enemies against their old friends, and, in a fit of romantic generosity, overturn what, with so much expense of blood and treasure, they had, during the course of so many years, been so carefully erecting?

But, though all these reflections occurred to the Scottish commissioners, they resolved to prolong the dispute, and to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to near two millions: for they had received little regular pay since they had entered England. And though the contributions which they had levied, as well as the price of their living at free quarters, must be deducted; yet still the sum which they insisted on was very considerable. After many discussions, it was at last agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of four hundred thousand pounds, one half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments[r].

Great pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the king's person; but common sense requires that they should be regarded as one and the same. The English, it is evident, had they not been previously assured of receiving the king, would never have parted with so considerable a sum; and while they weakened themselves by the same measure, have strengthened a people with whom they must afterwards have so material an interest to discuss.

Thus the Scottish nation underwent, and still undergo, (for such grievous stains are not easily wiped off,) the reproach of selling their king, and betraying their prince

[r] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 326. Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 236.

for money. In vain did they maintain, that this money was on account of former services, undoubtedly their due; that in their present situation, no other measure, without the utmost indiscretion, or even their apparent ruin, could be embraced; and that, though they delivered their king into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much his open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him, and their common hatred against him had long united the two parties in strict alliance with each other. They were still answered, that they made use of this scandalous expedient for obtaining their wages; and that after taking arms, without any provocation, against their sovereign, who had ever loved and cherished them, they had deservedly fallen into a situation, from which they could not extricate themselves, without either infamy or imprudence. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

The infamy of this bargain had such an influence on the Scottish Parliament, that they once voted, that the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced that as he had refused to take the covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration, it behoved the Parliament to retract their vote[s].

Intelligence concerning the final resolution of the Scottish nation to surrender him was brought to the king; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at chess[t]. Such command of temper did he possess, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the bystanders could perceive, that the letter, which he perused, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands; and he received them with the same grace and cheerfulness, as if they had travelled on no other errand than to pay court to him. The old Earl of Pembroke, in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his strength and vigour, that he was still able, during such a season, to perform so long a journey in company with so many young people.

The king, being delivered over by the Scots to the 1647.

[s] Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 243, 244. [t] Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons.

CHAP. LVIII.

1647. King delivered up by the Scots.

English commissioners, was conducted under a guard to Holdenby, in the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. If any still retained rancour against him, in his present condition, they passed in silence; while his well-wishers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his safety[u]. That ancient superstition likewise of desiring the king's touch in scrofulous distempers, seemed to acquire fresh credit among the people, from the general tenderness which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch.

The commissioners rendered his confinement at Holdenby very rigorous; dismissing his ancient servants, debarring him from visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The Parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow his chaplains to attend him, because they had not taken the covenant. The king refused to assist at the service exercised according to the directory; because he had not as yet given his consent to that mode of worship[w]. Such religious zeal prevailed on both sides! and such was the unhappy and distracted condition to which it had reduced king and people!

During the time that the king remained in the Scottish army at Newcastle, died the Earl of Essex, the discarded, but still powerful and popular, general of the Parliament. His death, in this conjuncture, was a public misfortune. Fully sensible of the excesses to which affairs had been carried, and of the worse consequences which were still to be apprehended, he had resolved to conclude a peace, and to remedy, as far as possible, all those ills to which, from mistake rather than any bad intentions, he had himself so much contributed. The presbyterian, or the moderate, party among the Commons, found themselves considerably weakened by his death; and the small remains of authority which still adhered to the House of Peers were in a manner wholly extinguished[x].

[u] Ludlow. Herbert.

[w] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 39. Warwick, p. 298.

[x] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

CHAPTER LIX.

Mutiny of the Army.—The King seized by Joyce.—The Army march against the Parliament.—The Army subdue the Parliament.—The King flies to the Isle of Wight.—Second Civil War.—Invasion from Scotland.—The Treaty of Newport.—The Civil War and Invasion repressed.—The King seized again by the Army.—The House purged.—The King's Trial,—and Execution,—and Character.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

The dominion of the Parliament was of short duration. No sooner had they subdued their sovereign, than their own servants rose against them, and tumbled them from their slippery throne. The sacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition. And every successive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it.

In proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the division between independents and presbyterians became every day more apparent; and the neuters found it at last requisite to seek shelter in one or the other faction. Many new writs were issued for elections, in the room of members who had died, or were disqualified by adhering to the king; yet still the presbyterians retained the superiority among the Commons: and all the Peers, except Lord Say, were esteemed of that party. The independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army: and the troops of the new model were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. To their assistance did the independent party among the Commons chiefly trust, in their projects for acquiring the ascendant over their antagonists.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminishing the army: and, on pretence of easing the public burdens, they levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They purposed to embark a strong detachment under Skippon and Massey, for the service of Ireland: they openly declared their intention of making a

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great reduction of the remainder [a]. It was even imagined, that another new model of the army was projected, in order to regain to the presbyterians that superiority which they had so imprudently lost by the former [b].

The army had small inclination to the service of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated, and laid waste by massacres and civil commotions; they had less inclination to disband, and to renounce that pay, which having earned it through fatigues and dangers, they now purposed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. And most of the officers having risen from the dregs of the people, had no other prospect, if deprived of their commission, than that of returning to languish in their native poverty and obscurity.

These motives of interest acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the Parliament, from the religious spirit by which the army was universally actuated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular civilized societies, the sentiments of shame, duty, honour, have considerable authority, and serve to counterbalance and direct the motives derived from private advantage: but, by the predominancy of enthusiasm among the parliamentary forces, these salutary principles lost their credit, and were regarded as mere human inventions, yea, moral institutions, fitter for heathens than for Christians [c]. The saint, resigned over to superior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, disguised under the appearance of pious zeal. And, besides the strange corruptions engendered by this spirit, it eluded and loosened all the ties of morality, and gave entire scope, and even sanction, to the selfishness and ambition which naturally adhere to the human mind.

The military confessors were farther encouraged in disobedience to superiors, by that spiritual pride to which a mistaken piety is so subject. They were not, they said, mere janisaries, mercenary troops enlisted for hire, and to be disposed of at the will of their pay-masters [d]. Religion and liberty were the motives which had excited them to arms; and they had a superior right to see those

[a] Fourteen thousand men were only intended to be kept up; six thousand horse, six thousand foot, and two thousand dragoons. Bates.
[b] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 564.
[c] Idem, vol. vi. p. 134.
[d] Idem, vol. vii. p. 565.

blessings which they had purchased with their blood ensured to future generations. By the same title that the presbyterians, in contradistinction to the royalists, had appropriated to themselves the epithet of *godly*, or the *well-affected*[e]; the independents did now, in contradistinction to the presbyterians, assume this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the ascendant which naturally belongs to it.

Hearing of parties in the House of Commons, and being informed that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally interested themselves in that dangerous distinction, and were eager to give the superiority to their partisans. Whatever hardships they underwent, though perhaps derived from inevitable necessity, were ascribed to a settled design of oppressing them, and resented as an effect of the animosity and malice of their adversaries.

Notwithstanding the great revenue which accrued from taxes, assessments, sequestrations, and compositions, considerable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay still owing them. The army suspected, that this deficiency was purposely contrived, in order to oblige them to live at free quarters; and by rendering them odious to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them. When they saw such members as were employed in committees and civil offices accumulate fortunes, they accused them of rapine and public plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the Commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded, that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two Houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity.

Mutiny of the army.

On this ground or pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. A petition, addressed to Fairfax, the general, was handed about; craving an indemnity, and that ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows, and maimed

[e] Rushworth vol. vii. p. 474.

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soldiers, and pay till disbanded [f]. The Commons, aware of what combustible materials the army was composed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its first appearance, must be attended with the most dangerous consequences, and must soon exalt the military above the civil authority.

March 30. Besides summoning some officers to answer for this attempt, they immediately voted that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the Parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of public peace [g]. This declaration, which may be deemed violent, especially as the army had some ground for complaint, produced fatal effects. The soldiers lamented that they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not allowed so much as to represent their grievances; that, while petitions from Essex and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in Parliament, to the most grievous servitude.

In this disposition was the army found by Warwick, Dacres, Massey, and other commissioners, who were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland [h]. Instead of enlisting, the generality objected to the terms; demanded an indemnity; were clamorous for their arrears: and, though they expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed commander, they discovered much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwell [i]. Some officers who were of the presbyterian party, having entered into engagements for this service, could prevail on very few of the soldiers to enlist under them. And, as these officers lay all under the grievous reproach of deserting the army, and betraying the interests of their companions, the rest were farther confirmed in that confederacy which they had secretly formed [k].

To petition and remonstrate being the most cautious

[f] Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 342.
[g] Idem, ibid. p. 344.
[h] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 457.
[i] Idem, ibid. p. 458.
[k] Idem, ibid. p. 461. 556.

method of conducting a confederacy, an application to Parliament was signed by near two hundred officers; in which they made their apology with a very imperious air, asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imputation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the Lower House[l]. The private men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippon; in which, together with insisting on the same topics, they lament that designs were formed against them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and had their just desires granted[m]. The army, in a word, felt their power, and resolved to be masters. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

The Parliament, too, resolved, if possible, to preserve their dominion; but being destitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not easy for them to employ any expedient which could contribute to their purpose. The expedient which they now made use of was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron Waldon in Essex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals, at least the three last, were secretly the authors of all the discontents; and failed not to foment those disorders which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a measure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. 7th May.

In opposition to the Parliament at Westminster, a military Parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the House of Peers; a more free representative of the army was composed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company[n]. By this means, both the general humour of that time was gratified, intent on plans of imaginary republics; and an easy method contrived for conducting underhand, and propagating, the sedition of the army.

[l] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 468. [m] Idem, ibid. p. 474.
[n] Idem, ibid. p. 485. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

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This terrible court, when assembled, having first declared that they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances* under which it laboured, immediately voted the offers of the Parliament unsatisfactory. Eight weeks' pay alone, they said, was promised; a small part of fifty-six weeks, which they claimed as their due. No visible security was given for the remainder: and having been declared public enemies by the Commons, they might hereafter be prosecuted as such, unless the declaration were recalled [o]. Before matters came to this height, Cromwell had posted up to London, on pretence of laying before the Parliament the rising discontents of the army.

The Parliament made one vigorous effort more to try the force of their authority: they voted that all the troops which did not engage for Ireland should instantly be disbanded in their quarters [p]. At the same time, the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And while they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the Parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

3d June. The king seized by Joyce.

A party of five hundred horse appeared at Holdenby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a tailor by profession; but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being opposed by the guard, whose affections were all on their side, Joyce came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him, that he must immediately go along with him. *Whither?* said the king. *To the army*, replied Joyce. *By what warrant?* asked the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, whom he brought along, tall, handsome, and well accoutred. *Your warrant*, said Charles, smiling, *is written in fair characters, legible without spelling* [q]. The parliamentary commissioners came into the room. They asked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the Parliament. He said, *No.* From the general? *No.* By what authority he came? He made the same reply as to the king: *They would write*, they said, *to the Parliament, to know their pleasure. You*

[o] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 497. 505. Whitlocke, p. 250. [p] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 487.
[q] Whitlocke, p. 254. Warwick, p. 299.

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may do so, replied Joyce, *but in the mean time the king must immediately go with me.* Resistance was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath, near Cambridge. The Parliament informed of this event by their commissioners, were thrown into the utmost consternation [r].

Fairfax himself was no less surprised at the king's arrival. That bold measure executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were entirely verbal; and nobody avowed them. And while every one affected astonishment at the enterprise, Cromwell, by whose counsel it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations.

This artful and audacious conspirator had conducted himself in the Parliament with such profound dissimulation, with such refined hypocrisy, that he had long deceived those who, being themselves very dexterous practitioners in the same arts, should naturally have entertained the more suspicion against others. At every intelligence of disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly: he lamented the misfortunes of his country: he advised every violent measure for suppressing the mutiny; and by these precipitate counsels, at once seemed to evince his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He obtested heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the Parliament had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger; and he had very narrowly escaped a conspiracy formed to assassinate him. But information being brought that the most active officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders secretly resolved, that, next day, when he should come to the House, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower [s]. Cromwell, who in the conduct of his desperate enterprises frequently approached to the very brink of destruction, knew how

[r] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 514, 515. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 47.
[s] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 46.

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to make the requisite turn with proper dexterity and boldness. Being informed of this design, he hastened to the camp; where he was received with acclamations, and was instantly invested with the supreme command, both of general and army.

Fairfax, having neither talents himself for cabal, nor penetration to discover the cabals of others, had given his entire confidence to Cromwell, who, by the best coloured pretences, and by the appearance of an open sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwell's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now attained a situation, where he could cover his enterprises from public view; and seeming either to obey the commands of his superior officer, or yield to the movements of the soldiers, could secretly pave the way for his future greatness. While the disorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a distance, lest his counterfeit aversion might throw a damp upon them, or his secret encouragement beget suspicion in the Parliament. As soon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the troops; and in the critical moment struck that important blow of seizing the king's person, and depriving the Parliament of any resource of an accommodation with him. Though one visor fell off, another still remained to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requisite, he would employ the most indefatigable patience: where celerity was necessary, he flew to a decision. And by thus uniting in his person the most opposite talents, he was enabled to combine the most contrary interests in a subserviency to his secret purposes.

The army march against the Parliament.

The Parliament, though at present defenceless, was possessed of many resources; and time might easily enable them to resist that violence with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwell advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's.

Nothing could be more popular than this hostility which the army commenced against the Parliament. As much as that assembly was once the idol of the nation,

as much was it now become the object of general hatred and aversion. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

The self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had resigned their commission: immediately after, it was laid aside by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in exercising acts of oppression on the helpless nation. Though the necessity of their situation might serve as an apology for many of their measures, the people, not accustomed to such a species of government, were not disposed to make the requisite allowances.

A small supply of one hundred thousand pounds a year could never be obtained by former kings from the jealous humour of Parliaments; and the English, of all nations in Europe, were the least accustomed to taxes: but this Parliament, from the commencement of the war, according to some computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions [t]; yet were loaded with debts and encumbrances, which, during that age, were regarded as prodigious. If these computations should be thought much exaggerated, as they probably are [u], the taxes and impositions were certainly far higher than in any former state of the English government; and such popular exaggerations are, at least, a proof of popular discontents.

But the disposal of this money was no less the object of general complaint against the Parliament than the levying of it. The sum of three hundred thousand pounds they openly took, it is affirmed [w], and divided among their own members. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of revenue was entrusted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of secreting whatever sums they pleased from the public treasure [x]. These branches were need-

[t] Clement Walker's History of the Two Juntos, prefixed to his History of Independency, p. 8. This is an author of spirit and ingenuity; and being a zealous parliamentarian, his authority is very considerable, notwithstanding the air of satire which prevails in his writings. This computation, however, seems much too large; especially as the sequestrations, during the time of war, could not be so considerable as afterwards.

[u] Yet the same sum precisely is assigned in another book, called Royal Treasury of England, p. 297.

[w] Clement Walker's History of Independency, p. 3. 166.

[x] Idem, ibid. p. 8.

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lessly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more intricate, to share the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds of which they were universally suspected [y].

The method of keeping accounts practised in the exchequer was confessedly the exactest, the most ancient, the best known, and the least liable to fraud. The exchequer was, for that reason, abolished, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were subject to no control [z].

The excise was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over provisions, and the common necessaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at least one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered. To great numbers of royalists all redress from these sequestrations was refused: to the rest, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compositions and subscribing the covenant, which they abhorred. Besides pitying the ruin and desolation of so many ancient and honourable families, indifferent spectators could not but blame the hardship of punishing, with such severity, actions which the law, in its usual and most undisputed interpretation, strictly required of every subject.

The severities, too, exercised against the episcopal clergy naturally affected the royalists, and even all men of candour, in a sensible manner. By the most moderate computation [a], it appears, that above one half of the established clergy had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adhering to the civil and religious principles in which they had been educated, and for their attachment to those laws under whose countenance they had at first embraced that profession. To renounce episcopacy and the liturgy, and to subscribe the covenant, were the only terms which could save them from so rigorous a fate; and if the least mark of malignancy, as it was called, or affection to the king, who so entirely loved them, had ever escaped their lips, even this

[y] Clement Walker's History of Independency, p. 8. [z] Idem, ibid.

[a] See John Walker's Attempt towards recovering an account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy. The Parliament pretended to leave the sequestered clergy a fifth of their revenue; but this author makes it sufficiently appear, that this provision, small as it is, was never regularly paid the ejected clergy.

hard choice was not permitted. The sacred character, which gives the priesthood such authority over mankind, becoming more venerable from the sufferings endured for the sake of principle by these distressed royalists, aggravated the general indignation against their persecutors. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

But what excited the most universal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country committees. During the war, the discretionary power of these courts was excused from the plea of necessity; but the nation was reduced to despair, when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. They interposed in questions of private property. Under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and sometimes to the innocent, they sold their protection. And instead of one star-chamber which had been abolished, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority [b].

Could any thing have increased the indignation against that slavery, into which the nation, from the too eager pursuit of liberty, had fallen, it must have been the reflection on the pretences by which the people had so long been deluded. The sanctified hypocrites, who called their oppressions the spoiling of the Egyptians, and their rigid severity the dominion of the elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and fervent prayers, saved themselves from blushing by their pious grimaces, and exercised, in the name of the Lord, all their cruelty on men. An undisguised violence could be forgiven: but such a mockery of the understanding, such an abuse of religion, were, with men of penetration, objects of peculiar resentment.

The Parliament, conscious of their decay in popularity, seeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to despair, and found all their resources much

[b] Clement Walker's History of Independency, p. 5. Hollis gives the same representation as Walker, of the plundering, oppressions, and tyranny of the Parliament: only, instead of laying the fault on both parties, as Walker does, he ascribes it solely to the independent faction. The presbyterians, indeed, being commonly denominated the *moderate* party, would probably be more inoffensive. See Rushw. vol. vii. p. 598, and Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 230.

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inferior to their present necessity. London still retained a strong attachment to presbyterianism; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in wars, had by a late ordinance been put into hands in whom the Parliament could entirely confide. This militia was now called out, and ordered to guard the lines which had been drawn round the city, in order to secure it against the king. A body of horse was ordered to be instantly levied. Many officers, who had been cashiered by the new model of the army, offered their service to the Parliament. An army of five thousand men lay in the north under the command of General Pointz, who was of the presbyterian faction; but these were too distant to be employed in so urgent a necessity. The forces destined for Ireland were quartered in the west; and though deemed faithful to the Parliament, they also lay at a distance. Many inland garrisons were commanded by officers of the same party; but their troops, being so much dispersed, could at present be of no manner of service. The Scots were faithful friends, and zealous for presbytery and the covenant; but a long time was required ere they could collect their forces, and march to the assistance of the Parliament.

In this situation, it was thought more prudent to submit, and by compliance to stop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled and erased from the journal book[c]. This was the first symptom which the Parliament gave of submission; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect all their purposes, stopped at St. Alban's, and entered into negotiation with their masters.

8th June.

Here commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their usurpations on the Parliament, copied exactly the model which the Parliament itself had set them, in their recent usurpations on the crown.

Every day they rose in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, still more enormous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be satisfied. At first they pretended only to petition for what

[c] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 503. 547. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 45.

concerned themselves as soldiers: next, they must have a vindication of their character: then it was necessary that their enemies be punished[d]: at last they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation[e]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

They preserved in words all deference and respect to the Parliament; but, in reality, insulted them and tyrannized over them. That assembly they pretended not to accuse: it was only evil counsellors, who seduced and betrayed it.

They proceeded so far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the Parliament. Their names were, Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nicholas[f]. These were the very leaders of the presbyterian party. 16th June.

They insisted that these members should immediately be sequestered from Parliament, and be thrown into prison[g]. The Commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed so far[h]. The army observed to them, that the cases of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpose[i]. At last, the eleven members themselves, not to give occasion for discord, begged leave to retire from the House: and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission[k].

Pretending that the Parliament intended to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confusion, they required that all new levies should be stopped. The Parliament complied with this demand[l].

There being no signs of resistance, the army, in order to save appearances, removed, at the desire of the Parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches.

That prince now found himself in a better situation than at Holdenby, and had attained some greater degree of freedom, as well as of consideration with both parties.

d Rushw. vol. vii. p. 509.
e Ibid. vol. vii. p. 567. 633; vol. viii. p. 731.
f Ibid. vol. vii. p. 570.
g Idem, vol. vii. p. 572.
h Ibid. vol. vii. p. 592.
i Ibid. vol. vii. p. 594. Whitlocke, p. 259.
k Rushw. vol. vii. p. 593, 594.
l Ibid. vol. vii. p. 572. 574.

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All his friends had access to his presence: his correspondence with the queen was not interrupted: his chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the liturgy: his children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham, where he then resided [m]. He had not seen the Duke of Gloucester, his youngest son, and the Princess Elizabeth, since he left London, at the commencement of the civil disorders [n]; nor the Duke of York, since he went to the Scottish army before Newark. No private man, unacquainted with the pleasures of a court and the tumult of a camp, more passionately loved his family, than did this good prince; and such an instance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwell, who was witness to the meeting of the royal family, confessed that he never had been present at so tender a scene; and he extremely applauded the benignity which displayed itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of Charles.

That artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, paid court to the king; and fortune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed again to smile upon him. The Parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than formerly; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation. The chief officers treated him with regard, and spake on all occasions of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on [o]. The royalists, every where, entertained hopes of the restoration of monarchy; and the favour which they universally bore to the army, contributed very much to discourage the Parliament, and to forward their submission.

The king began to feel of what consequence he was. The more the national confusions increased, the more was he confident that all parties would, at length, have re-

[m] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 51, 52. 57.

[n] When the king applied to have his children, the Parliament always told him, that they could take as much care at London, both of their bodies and souls, as could be done at Oxford. Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 127.

[o] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 590.

course to his lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public disorders. *You cannot be without me*, said he, on several occasions: *You cannot settle the nation but by my assistance.* A people without government and without liberty, a Parliament without authority, an army without a legal master: distractions every where, terrors, oppressions, convulsions: from this scene of confusion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquillity. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

Though Charles kept his ears open to all proposals, and expected to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the Parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: they had confined his person. In both these particulars the army showed more indulgence[p]. He had a free intercourse with his friends. And in the proposals, which the council of officers sent for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists; the two points to which the king had the most extreme reluctance. And they demanded that a period should be put to the present Parliament; the event for which he most ardently longed.

His conjunction too seemed more natural with the generals than with that usurping assembly who had so long assumed the entire sovereignty of the state, and who had declared their resolution still to continue masters. By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an instant, reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland: to Cromwell, the garter, the title of Earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpose were secretly conducted. Cromwell pretended to hearken to them; and was well pleased to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the king, who had no suspicion that one born a private

p Warwick, p. 303. Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 40. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 50.

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gentleman could entertain the daring ambition of seizing the sceptre transmitted through a long line of monarchs, indulged hopes that he would, at last, embrace a measure which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him.

While Cromwell allured the king by these expectations, he still continued his scheme of reducing the Parliament to subjection, and depriving them of all means of resistance. To gratify the army, the Parliament invested Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entrusted the whole military authority to a person who, though well inclined to their service, was no longer at his own disposal.

They voted that the troops which, in obedience to them, had enlisted for Ireland, and deserted the rebellious army, should be disbanded, or, in other words, be punished for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutinied against their general, and had entered into an association with that body of the army which was so successfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority [q].

That no resource might remain to the Parliament, it was demanded that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The Parliament even complied with so violent a demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army [r].

By this unlimited patience they proposed to temporize under their present difficulties, and they hoped to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence: but the impatience of the city lost them all the advantage of their cautious measures. A

20th July.

petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the House of Commons; and, by their clamour, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote, which they had passed so lately. When gratified in this pretension, they immediately dispersed, and left the Parliament at liberty [s].

[q] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 620.
[r] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 629. 632.
[s] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 641. 643. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 61. Whitlocke, p. 269. Cl. Walker, p. 38.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion. The two Houses being under restraint, they were resolved, they said, to vindicate, against the seditious citizens, the invaded privileges of Parliament, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. In their way to London, they were drawn up on Hounslow-heath; a formidable body, twenty thousand strong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favourable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two Houses, Manchester and Lenthal, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and, complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations; respect was paid to them as to the Parliament of England; and the army, being provided with so plausible a pretence, which in all public transactions is of great consequence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated Parliament [t].

Neither Lenthal nor Manchester were esteemed independents; and such a step in them was unexpected. But they probably foresaw that the army must, in the end, prevail; and they were willing to pay court in time to that authority which began to predominate in the nation.

The Parliament, forced from their temporizing measures, and obliged to resign at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and determined to resist the violence of the army. The two Houses immediately chose new speakers, Lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham: they renewed their former orders for enlisting troops: they appointed Massey to be commander: they ordered the train-bands to man the lines; and the whole city was in a ferment, and resounded with military preparations [u].

[t] Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 750. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 63.
[u] Rushw. vol. vii. p. 646.

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When any intelligence arrived, that the army stopped or retreated, the shout of *one and all*, ran with alacrity from street to street, among the citizens; when news came of their advancing, the cry of *treat and capitulate* was no less loud and vehement [w]. The terror of an universal pillage, and even massacre, had seized the timid inhabitants.

As the army approached, Rainsborow, being sent by the general over the river, presented himself before Southwark, and was gladly received by some soldiers, who were quartered there for its defence, and who were resolved not to separate their interests from those of the army. It behoved then the Parliament to submit. The army marched in triumph through the city, but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accused as authors of the tumult, were expelled; and most of them retired beyond sea: seven peers were impeached: the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen sent to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison: every deed of the Parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers: the lines about the city levelled: the militia restored to the independents: regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Mews: and the Parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving for the restoration of its liberty [x].

The army subdue the Parliament.

The independent party among the Commons exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was now lodged in their hands; and they had a near prospect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic which had long been the object of their wishes. They had secretly concurred in all encroachments of the military upon the civil power; and they expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the Parliament, the presbyterians, had been guilty of errors since the commencement of these disorders: but it must be confessed that this delusion of the inde-

[w] Whitlocke, p. 265.

[x] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 797, 798, &c.

pendents and republicans was, of all others, the most contrary to common sense and the established maxims of policy. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, Martin, the men in England the most celebrated for profound thought and deep contrivance; and by their well-coloured pretences and professions, they had overreached the whole nation. To deceive such men would argue a superlative capacity in Cromwell; were it not that, besides the great difference there is between dark, crooked counsels and true wisdom, an exorbitant passion for rule and authority will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of such measures as seem to tend, in any degree, to their own advancement. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

The leaders of the army, having established their dominion over the Parliament and city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-court, and he lived, for some time, in that palace with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such equability of temper did he possess, that, during all the variety of fortune which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and though a prisoner, in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported, towards all who approached him, the majesty of a monarch; and that neither with less nor greater state than he had been accustomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itself popular nor gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekness and equality.

The Parliament renewed their applications to him, and presented him with the same conditions which they had offered at Newcastle. The king declined accepting them, and desired the Parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and make them the foundation of the public settlement[y]. He still entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success; though every thing, in that particular, daily bore a worse aspect. Most historians have thought that Cromwell never was sincere in his professions; and that, having by force rendered himself master of the king's person, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royalists, he had employed these advantages to the enslaving of the Parliament; and afterwards thought of nothing but the establishment of his own unlimited

[y] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 810.

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authority, with which he esteemed the restoration, and even life, of the king altogether incompatible. This opinion, so much warranted by the boundless ambition and profound dissimulation of his character, meets with ready belief; though it is more agreeable to the narrowness of human views, and the darkness of futurity, to suppose that this daring usurper was guided by events, and did not as yet foresee, with any assurance, that unparalleled greatness which he afterwards attained. Many writers of that age have asserted [z] that he really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a measure which carried the most plausible appearance both for his safety and advancement; but that he found insuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. The horror and antipathy of these fanatics had, for many years, been artfully fomented against Charles; and though their principles were on all occasions easily warped and eluded by private interest, yet was some colouring requisite, and a flat contradiction to all former professions and tenets could not safely be proposed to them. It is certain, at least, that Cromwell made use of this reason, why he admitted rarely of visits from the king's friends, and showed less favour than formerly to the royal cause. The agitators, he said, had rendered him odious to the army, and had represented him as a traitor who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. Desperate projects, too, he asserted to be secretly formed, for the murder of the king; and he pretended much to dread lest all his authority, and that of the commanding officers, would not be able to restrain these enthusiasts from their bloody purposes [a].

Intelligence being daily brought to the king of menaces thrown out by the agitators, he began to think of retiring from Hampton-court, and of putting himself in some place of safety. The guards were doubled upon him: the promiscuous concourse of people restrained: a more jealous care exerted in attending his person: all under colour of protecting him from danger; but really with a view of making him uneasy in his present situation. These artifices

[z] See note [L], at the end of the volume.

[a] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 76.

soon produced the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be swayed by counsel, and who had not then access to any good counsel, took suddenly a resolution of withdrawing himself, though without any concerted, at least any rational scheme for the future disposal of his person. Attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-court; and his escape was not discovered till near an hour after; when those who entered his chamber found on the table, some letters directed to the Parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him [b]. All night he travelled through the forest, and arrived next day at Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton's, where the countess dowager resided, a woman of honour, to whom the king knew he might safely entrust his person.

CHAP. LIX. 1647. 11th Nov.

Before he arrived at this place he had gone to the sea-coast; and expressed great anxiety that a ship which he seemed to look for had not arrived: and thence Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the secret, conjectured that his intention was to transport himself beyond sea.

The king could not hope to remain long concealed at Titchfield: what measure should next be embraced was the question. In the neighbourhood lay the Isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwell. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, who, during his lifetime, had been an intimate friend of Cromwell's, and whose memory was ever respected by him. These circumstances were very unfavourable: yet, because the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the army, it was thought proper to have recourse to him in the present exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Ashburnham and Berkeley were despatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place where the king was concealed, till they had first obtained a promise from him not to deliver up his majesty, though the Parliament and the army should require him; but to restore him to his liberty, if he could not protect him. This promise, it is evident, would have been a very slender

The king flies to the Isle of Wight.

[b] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 871.

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security; yet even without exacting it, Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield; and the king was obliged to put himself into his hands, and to attend him to Carisbroke-castle, in the Isle of Wight, where, though received with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

Lord Clarendon[c] is positive that the king, when he fled from Hampton-court, had no intention of going to this island; and indeed all the circumstances of that historian's narrative, which we have here followed, strongly favour this opinion. But there remains a letter of Charles's to the Earl of Laneric, secretary of Scotland, in which he plainly intimates that that measure was voluntarily embraced; and even insinuates that, if he had thought proper, he might have been in Jersey, or any other place of safety[d]. Perhaps he still confided in the promises of the generals; and flattered himself that, if he were removed from the fury of the agitators, by which his life was immediately threatened, they would execute what they had so often promised in his favour.

Whatever may be the truth in this matter, for it is impossible fully to ascertain the truth, Charles never took a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwell and all his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from his partisans, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be very difficult to deliver him, either by force or artifice. And though it was always in the power of Cromwell, whenever he pleased, to have sent him thither; yet such a measure, without the king's consent, would have been very invidious, if not attended with some danger. That the king should voluntarily throw himself into the snare, and thereby gratify his implacable persecutors, was to them an incident peculiarly fortunate, and proved in the issue very fatal to him.

Cromwell, being now entirely master of the Parliament, and free from all anxiety with regard to the custody of the king's person, applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army, which he himself had so artfully raised, and so successfully employed against both king and Parliament. In order to engage the troops into a rebellion against their masters, he had encouraged

[c] P. 79, 80, &c.

[d] See note [M], at the end of the volume.

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an arrogant spirit among the inferior officers and private men; and the camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics, for the settlement of the state, were every day the topics of conversation among these armed legislators. Royalty it was agreed to abolish: nobility must be set aside: even all ranks of men be levelled; and an universal equality of property, as well as of power, be introduced among the citizens. The saints, they said, were the salt of the earth: an entire parity had place among the elect: and by the same rule that the apostles were exalted from the most ignoble professions, the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the Spirit, was entitled to equal regard with the greatest commander. In order to wean the soldiers from these licentious maxims, Cromwell had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay entire obedience to the Parliament, whom, being now fully reduced to subjection, he purposed to make, for the future, the instruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for so that party in the army was called, having experienced the sweets of dominion, would not so easily be deprived of it. They secretly continued their meetings: they asserted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, needed reformation: several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions[e]: separate rendezvous were concerted; and every thing tended to anarchy and confusion. But this distemper was soon cured by the rough but dexterous hand of Cromwell. He chose the opportunity of a review, that he might display the greater boldness and spread the terror the wider. He seized the ringleaders before their companions, held in the field a council of war, shot one mutineer instantly, and struck such dread into the rest, that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted discipline and obedience[f].

Cromwell had great deference for the counsels of Ireton; a man who, having grafted the soldier on the

[e] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 845. 859.
[f] Idem, ibid. p. 875. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 87.

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lawyer, the statesman on the saint, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded licence in human society. Fierce in his nature, though probably sincere in his intentions, he purposed by arbitrary power to establish liberty, and in prosecution of his imagined religious purposes, he thought himself dispensed from all the ordinary rules of morality by which inferior mortals must allow themselves to be governed. From his suggestion, Cromwell secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person[g]. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himself, and other inspired persons, (for the officers of this army received inspiration with their commission,) was first opened the daring and unheard-of counsel, of bringing the king to justice, and of punishing, by judicial sentence, their sovereign, for his pretended tyranny and maladministration. While Charles lived, even though restrained to the closest prison, conspiracies, they knew, and insurrections, would never be wanting in favour of a prince who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and compassion. To murder him privately was exposed to the imputation of injustice and cruelty, aggravated by the baseness of such a crime; and every odious epithet of *traitor* and *assassin* would, by the general voice of mankind, be indisputably ascribed to the actors in such a villany. Some unexpected procedure must be attempted, which would astonish the world by its novelty, would bear the semblance of justice, and would cover its barbarity by the audaciousness of the enterprise. Striking in with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, it would ensure the devoted obedience of the army, and serve as a general engagement against the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would so heinously affront and injure[h].

[g] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 92.

[h] The following was a favourite text among the enthusiasts of that age: "Let the high praises of God be in the mouths of his saints, and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to

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This measure, therefore, being secretly resolved on, it was requisite, by degrees, to make the Parliament adopt it, and to conduct them from violence to violence, till this last act of atrocious iniquity should seem in a manner wholly inevitable. The king, in order to remove those fears and jealousies which were perpetually pleaded as reasons for every invasion of the constitution, had offered, by a message sent from Carisbroke-castle, to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices; provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown [i]. But the Parliament acted entirely as victors and enemies; and, in all their transactions with him, paid no longer any regard to equity or reason. At the instigation of the independents and army, they neglected this offer, and framed four proposals, which they sent him as preliminaries; and before they would deign to treat, they demanded his positive assent to all of them. By one he was required to invest the Parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money should be necessary for exercising it: and even after the twenty years should be elapsed, they reserved a right of resuming the same authority, whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom to require it. By the second, he was to recall all his proclamations and declarations against the Parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms in their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage which had passed the great seal, since it had been carried from London by Lord-keeper Littleton; and at the same time, renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of Parliament. By the fourth, he gave the two Houses power to adjourn as they thought proper: a demand seemingly of no great importance; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the Parliament to places where it should remain in perpetual subjection to the army [k].

execute upon them the judgment written; this honour have all his saints." Psalm cxlix. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. Hugh Peters, the mad chaplain of Cromwell, preached frequently upon this text.

[i] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 880.

[k] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 88.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

The king regarded the pretension as unusual and exorbitant that he should make such concessions, while not secure of any settlement; and should blindly trust his enemies for the conditions which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a personal treaty with the Parliament, and desired that all the terms on both sides should be adjusted, before any concession on either side should be insisted on. The republican party in the House pretended to take fire at this answer; and openly inveighed, in violent terms, against the person and government of the king; whose name hitherto had commonly in all debates been mentioned with some degree of reverence. Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of many thousand godly men, who had ventured their lives in defence of the Parliament, said that the king, by denying the four bills, had refused safety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation without consulting any longer so misguided a prince[l]. Cromwell, after giving an ample character of the valour, good affections, and godliness of the army, subjoined, that it was expected the Parliament should guide and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those who, at the expense of their blood, had hitherto defended the Parliament from so many dangers, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition in this vigorous measure. "Teach them not," added he, "by your neglecting your own safety and that of the kingdom, (in which theirs too is involved,) to imagine themselves betrayed, and their interests abandoned to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom, for your sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware, (*and at these words he laid his hand on his sword,*) beware, lest despair cause them to seek safety by some other means than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety[m]." Such arguments prevailed,

[l] Cl. Walker, p. 70.

[m] Id. ibid.

though ninety-one members had still the courage to oppose. It was voted that no more addresses be made to the king, nor any letters or messages be received from him; and that it be treason for any one, without leave of the two Houses, to have any intercourse with him. The Lords concurred in the same ordinance [n]. CHAP. LIX. 1648. 15th Jan.

By this vote of non-addresses, (so it was called,) the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. So violent a measure was supported by a declaration of the Commons no less violent. The blackest calumnies were there thrown upon the king; such as, even in their famous remonstrance, they thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: the poisoning of his father, the betraying of Rochelle, the contriving of the Irish massacre [o]. By blasting his fame, had that injury been in their power, they formed a very proper prelude to the executing of violence on his person.

No sooner had the king refused his assent to the four bills, than Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and shut him up in close confinement. The king afterwards showed to Sir Philip Warwick a decrepit old man, who, he said, was employed to kindle his fire, and was the best company he enjoyed, during several months that this rigorous confinement lasted [p]. No amusement was allowed him, nor society, which might relieve his anxious thoughts. To be speedily poisoned or assassinated was the only prospect which he had every moment before his eyes: for he entertained no apprehension of a judicial sentence and execution; an event which no history hitherto furnished an example. Meanwhile, the Parliament was very industrious in publishing, from time to time, the intelligence which they received from Hammond; how cheerful the king was, how pleased with every one that approached him, how satisfied in his present condition [q]: as if the view of such benignity and constancy had not been more proper to inflame than allay the general compassion of the people. The great source

[n] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 965. 967.
[o] Idem, ibid. p. 998. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 93.
[p] Warwick, p. 329.
[q] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 989.

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whence the king derived consolation, amidst all his calamities, was undoubtedly religion; a principle which in him seems to have contained nothing fierce or gloomy, nothing which enraged him against his adversaries, or terrified him with the dismal prospect of futurity. While every thing around him bore a hostile aspect; while friends, family relations, whom he passionately loved, were placed at a distance, and unable to serve him; he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose severities, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of unexhausted favour.

Second civil war.

The Parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which they had obtained with so much violence and injustice. Combinations and conspiracies, they were sensible, were every where forming around them; and Scotland, whence the king's cause had received the first fatal disaster, seemed now to promise its support and assistance.

Before the surrender of the king's person at Newcastle, and much more since that event, the subjects of discontent had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all occasions of mortifying the Scots, whom the presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scottish commissioners, who, joined to a committee of English Lords and Commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was proposed in Parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The independents insisted that the words *good offices* should be struck out; and thus the whole brotherly friendship and intimate alliance with the Scots resolved itself into an acknowledgment of their being well-bred gentlemen.

The advance of the army to London, the subjection of the Parliament, the seizing of the king at Holdenby, his confinement in Carisbroke-castle, were so many blows sensibly felt by that nation, as threatening the final overthrow of presbytery, to which they were so passionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called, in the House of Commons, an almanack out of date[r], and that

[r] Cl. Walker, p. 80.

impiety, though complained of, had passed uncensured. Instead of being able to determine and establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, they saw the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with the utmost abhorrence. All the violences put on the king they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, by which they stood engaged to defend his royal person. And those very actions of which they themselves had been guilty, they denominated treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

The Earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were sent to London, protested against the four bills, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion. They complained that, notwithstanding this protestation, the bills were still insisted on; contrary to the solemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king for arming Scotland in his favour [s].

Three parties at that time prevailed in Scotland: The *royalists*, who insisted upon the restoration of the king's authority, without any regard to religious sects or tenets: of these Montrose, though absent, was regarded as the head. The *rigid presbyterians*, who hated the king even more than they abhorred toleration; and who determined to give him no assistance till he should subscribe the covenant; these were governed by Argyle. The *moderate presbyterians*, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion and of the crown, and hoped, by supporting the presbyterian party in England, to suppress the sectarian army, and to reinstate the Parliament as well as the king in their just freedom and authority: the two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric, were leaders of this party. Invasion from Scotland.

When Pendennis-castle was surrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland, and being generously determined to remember ancient favours more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and success, the pro-

[s] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 101.

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tection of the royal cause. He obtained a vote from the Scottish Parliament to arm forty thousand men in support of the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster. And though he openly protested that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly entered into correspondence with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England.

The general assembly, who sat at the same time, and was guided by Argyle, dreaded the consequence of these measures, and foresaw that the opposite party, if successful, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of presbytery, in England. To join the king before he had subscribed the covenant was, in their eyes, to restore him to his honour before Christ had obtained his[t]; and they thundered out anathemas against every one who paid obedience to the Parliament. Two supreme independent judicatures were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the people with damnation and eternal torments; the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were distracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton's party, though seconded by all the civil power, went on but slowly. The royalists he would not as yet allow to join him, lest he might give offence to the ecclesiastical party; though he secretly promised them trust and preferment as soon as his army should advance into England.

While the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. It is seldom that the people gain any thing by revolutions in government; because the new settlement, jealous and insecure, must commonly be supported with more expense and severity than the old: but on no occasion was the truth of this maxim more sensibly felt than in the present situation of England. Complaints against the oppression of ship-money, against the tyranny of the star-chamber, had roused the people to

[t] Whitlocke, p. 305.

arms; and having gained a complete victory over the crown, they found themselves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes, formerly unknown; and scarcely an appearance of law and liberty remained in the administration. The presbyterians, who had chiefly supported the war, were enraged to find the prize, just when it seemed within their reach, snatched by violence from them. The royalists, disappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment which the king now received from the army, were strongly animated to restore him to liberty, and to recover the advantages which they had unfortunately lost. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and king and Parliament at once reduced to subjection by a mercenary army. Many persons of family and distinction had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the Parliament: but all these were, by the new party, deprived of authority; and every office was entrusted to the most ignoble part of the nation. A base populace exalted above their superiors; hypocrites exercising iniquity under the visor of religion: these circumstances promised not much liberty or lenity to the people, and these were now found united in the same usurped and illegal administration.

Though the whole nation seemed to combine in their hatred of military tyranny, the ends which the several parties pursued were so different that little concert was observed in their insurrections. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, presbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the first that declared themselves; and they drew together a considerable army in those parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cause. An insurrection was raised in Kent by young Hales, and the Earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, excited commotions in Essex. The Earl of Holland, who had several times changed sides since the commencement of the civil wars, endeavoured to assemble forces in Surrey. Pomfret-castle in Yorkshire was surprised by Maurice. Langdale and Musgrave were in arms, and masters of Berwick and Carlisle in the north.

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What seemed the most dangerous circumstance, the general spirit of discontent had seized the fleet. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainsborow, their admiral, ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the Prince of Wales took the command of them [u].

The English royalists exclaimed loudly against Hamilton's delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were, that all the king's party should first be suppressed, and the victory remain solely to the presbyterians. Hamilton, with better reason, complained of the precipitate humour of the English royalists, who, by their ill-timed insurrections, forced him to march his army before his levies were completed, or his preparations in any forwardness.

No commotions beyond a tumult of the apprentices, which was soon suppressed, were raised in London: the terror of the army kept the citizens in subjection. The Parliament was so overawed, that they declared the Scots to be enemies, and all who joined them traitors. Ninety members, however, of the Lower House, had the courage to dissent from this vote.

Cromwell and the military council prepared themselves with vigour and conduct for defence. The establishment of the army was at this time twenty-six thousand men; but by enlisting supernumeraries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly consisted of more than double their stated complement [w]. Colonel Horton first attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a considerable defeat. The remnants of the vanquished threw themselves into Pembroke, and were there closely besieged, and soon after taken by Cromwell. Lambert was opposed to Langdale and Musgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Livesey defeated the Earl of Holland at Kingston, and, pursuing his victory, took him prisoner at St. Neot's. Fairfax, having routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, followed the broken army; and when they joined the royalists of Essex, and threw themselves into Colchester, he laid siege to that place, which defended itself to the last extremity. A

[u] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 137.

[w] Whitlocke, p. 284.

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new fleet was manned and sent out under the command of Warwick, to oppose the revolted ships of which the prince had taken the command.

While the forces were employed in all quarters, the Parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its wonted courage and spirit. The members who had withdrawn, from terror of the army, returned; and, infusing boldness into their companions, restored to the presbyterian party the ascendant which it had formerly lost. The eleven impeached members were recalled, and the vote, by which they were expelled, was reversed. The vote too of non-addresses was repealed; and commissioners, five peers and ten commoners, were sent to Newport in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king [x]. He was allowed to summon several of his friends and old counsellors, that he might have their advice in this important transaction [y]. The theologians on both sides, armed with their syllogisms and quotations, attended as auxiliaries [z]. By them the flame had first been raised; and their appearance was but a bad prognostic of its extinction. Any other instruments seemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

18th Sept. Treaty of Newport.

When the king presented himself to this company, a great and sensible alteration was remarked in his aspect, from what it appeared the year before, when he resided at Hampton-court. The moment his servants had been removed, he had laid aside all care of his person, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely gray, either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows under which he laboured, and which, though borne with constancy, preyed inwardly on his sensible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compassion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *gray and discrowned head*, as he himself terms it, in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic [a]. Having in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adversaries, it now behoved him, by reasoning and persuasion, to save

x Clarendon, vol. v. p. 180. Sir Edward Walker's Perfect Copies, p. 6.
y Ibid. p. 8.
z Ibid. p. 8. 38.
a Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

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some fragments of it from these peaceful, and no less implacable, negotiators.

The vigour of the king's mind, notwithstanding the seeming decline of his body, here appeared unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commissioners would allow none of his counsel to be present, and refused to enter into reasoning with any but himself. He alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both Houses; and no advantage was ever obtained over him [b]. This was the scene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated understanding, a chaste elocution, a dignified manner; by these accomplishments he triumphed in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. *The king is much changed*, said the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick; *he is extremely improved of late. No*, replied Sir Philip; *he was always so: but you are now at last sensible of it* [c]. Sir Henry Vane, discoursing with his fellow commissioners, drew an argument from the king's uncommon abilities why the terms of pacification must be rendered more strict and rigid [d]. But Charles's capacity shone not equally in action as in reasoning.

The first point insisted on by the parliamentary commissioners was the king's recalling all his proclamations and declarations against the Parliament, and the acknowledging that they had taken arms in their own defence. He frankly offered the former concession; but long scrupled the latter. The falsehood, as well as indignity, of that acknowledgment, begat in his breast an extreme reluctance against it. The king had, no doubt, in some particulars of moment, invaded, from a seeming necessity, the privileges of his people: but having renounced all claim to these usurped powers, having confessed his errors, and having repaired every breach in the constitution, and even erected new ramparts in order to secure it; he could no longer, at the commencement of the war, be represented as the aggressor. However it might be pretended that the former display of his arbitrary inclinations, or rather his monarchical principles, rendered an offensive or

[b] Herbert's Memoirs, p. 72. [c] Warwick, p. 324.
[d] Clarendon. Sir Edward Walker, p. 319.

preventive war in the Parliament prudent and reasonable; it could never in any propriety of speech, make it be termed a defensive one. But the Parliament, sensible that the letter of the law condemned them as rebels and traitors, deemed this point absolutely necessary for their future security; and the king, finding that peace could be obtained on no other terms, at last yielded to it. He only entered a protest, which was admitted, that no concession made by him should be valid, unless the whole treaty of pacification were concluded [e].

He agreed that the Parliament should retain, during the term of twenty years, the power over the militia and army, and that of levying what money they pleased for their support. He even yielded to them the right of resuming, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they should declare such a resumption necessary for public safety. In effect, the important power of the sword was for ever ravished from him and his successors [f].

He agreed, that all the great offices, during twenty years, should be filled by both Houses of Parliament [g]. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there [h]. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of one hundred thousand pounds a year in lieu of it [i]. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal, and gave up his own [k]. He abandoned the power of creating peers without the consent of Parliament; and he agreed that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

So great were the alterations made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the king said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any other action of his life.

Of all the demands of the Parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe repentance which he had undergone for abandoning Strafford had, no doubt, confirmed him

e Walker, p. 11, 12. 24. f Ibid. p. 51. g Ibid. p. 78.
h Ibid. p. 45. i Ibid. p. 69. 77. k Ibid. p. 56. 68.

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in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions had contributed to rivet him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation induced him to go as far in both these particulars as he thought anywise consistent with his duty.

The estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost entirely under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented that they should pay such compositions as they and the Parliament could agree on, and only begged that they might be made as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent that a certain number of his friends should be rendered incapable of public employments[l]. But when the Parliament demanded a bill of attainder and banishment against seven persons, the Marquis of Newcastle, Lord Digby, Lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Doddington, and Judge Jenkins, the king absolutely refused compliance: their banishment for a limited time he was willing to agree to[m].

Religion was the fatal point about which the differences had arisen; and of all others it was the least susceptible of composition or moderation between the contending parties. The Parliament insisted on the establishment of presbytery, the sale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and strict laws against Catholics. The king offered to retrench every thing which he did not esteem of apostolical institution: he was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebends, canons: he offered that the chapter lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years: he consented that the present church government should continue during three years[n]. After that time, he required not that any thing should be restored to bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the presbyters[o]. If the Parliament, upon the expiration of that period, still insisted on their demand, all other branches of episcopal jurisdiction were

[l] Walker, p. 61.
[m] Ibid. p. 61. 93.
[n] Ibid. p. 29. 35. 49.
[o] Ibid. p. 65.

abolished, and a new form of church government must, by common consent, be established. The book of common prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel [p]: a demand which, though seemingly reasonable, was positively refused by the Parliament. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

In the dispute on these articles, one is not surprised that two of the parliamentary theologians should tell the king, *That if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned.* But it is not without some indignation that we read the following vote of the Lords and Commons: "The Houses, out of their detestation to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do declare that they cannot admit of, or consent unto, any such indulgence in any law, as is desired by his majesty, for exempting the queen and her family from the penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the mass [q]." The treaty of marriage, the regard to the queen's sex and high station, even common humanity; all considerations were undervalued, in comparison of their bigoted prejudices [r].

It was evidently the interest both of king and Parliament to finish their treaty with all expedition; and endeavour, by their combined force, to resist, if possible, the usurping fury of the army. It seemed even the interest of the Parliament to leave in the king's hand a considerable share of authority, by which he might be enabled to protect them and himself from so dangerous an enemy. But the terms on which they insisted were so rigorous, that the king, fearing no worse from the most implacable enemies, was in no haste to come to a conclusion. And so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests, rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From these causes, assisted by the artifice of the independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued; and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purposes.

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous, Civil war and invasion repressed.

[p] Walker, p. 75. 82. Rushw. vol. viii. p. 1323.
[q] Walker, p. 71.
[r] See note [N], at the end of the volume.

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though undisciplined army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale; because the English royalists had refused to take the covenant; and the Scottish presbyterians, though engaged for the king, refused to join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, though at some distance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army, under Cromwell, oblige the covenanters to consult their own safety, by a close union with the royalists. When principles are so absurd, and so destructive of human society, it may safely be averred, that the more sincere and the more disinterested they are, they only become the more ridiculous and the more odious.

Cromwell feared not to oppose eight thousand men to the numerous armies of twenty thousand, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by surprise near Preston in Lancashire[s]; and though the royalists made a brave resistance, yet, not being succoured in time by their confederates, they were almost entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Utoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner. Cromwell followed his advantage; and, marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed Laneric, Monro, and other moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical authority, exalted above the civil, exercised the severest vengeance on all who had a share in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called; nor could any of that party recover trust, or even live in safety, but by doing solemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of Parliament, in defence of their lawful sovereign.

The Chancellor Loudon, who had at first countenanced Hamilton's enterprise, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had some time before gone over to the other party; and he now openly in the church, though invested with the highest civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the Parliament, which he termed a *carnal self-seeking*. He accompanied his penance with so many tears, and such pathetical addresses

[s] 17th of August.

to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that an universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience[t]. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

The loan of great sums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted from all such as lay under any suspicion of favouring the king's party, though their conduct had been ever so inoffensive. This was a device fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they said, to reach *heart malignants*[u]. Never, in this island, was known a more severe and arbitrary government than was generally exercised by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

The siege of Colchester terminated in a manner no less unfortunate than Hamilton's engagement, for the royal cause. After suffering the utmost extremities of famine, after feeding on the vilest aliments; the garrison desired, at last, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to surrender at discretion; and he gave such an explanation to these terms as to reserve to himself power, if he pleased, to put them all instantly to the sword. The officers endeavoured, though in vain, to persuade the soldiers, by making a vigorous sally, to break through, at least to sell their lives as dear as possible. They were obliged[w] to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, instigated by Ireton, to whom Cromwell, in his absence, had consigned over the government of the passive general, seized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, and resolved to make them instant sacrifices to military justice. This unusual severity was loudly exclaimed against by all the prisoners. Lord Capel, fearless of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was first shot, and he himself gave orders to fire, with the same alacrity as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Lisle instantly ran and kissed the dead body, then cheerfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the soldiers, destined for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he called to them to come nearer: one of them replied, *I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you:* he answered smiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me.* Thus perished this gene-

[t] Whitlocke, p. 360. [u] Guthry. [w] 18th of August.

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rous spirit, not less beloved for his modesty and humanity, than esteemed for his courage and military conduct.

Soon after, a gentleman appearing in the king's presence clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas, that humane prince, suddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him: he dissolved into a flood of tears[x].

By these multiplied successes of the army, they had subdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpless king and Parliament, to oppose their violent measures. From Cromwell's suggestion, a remonstance was drawn by the council of general officers, and sent to the Parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the king; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war; require a dissolution of the present Parliament, and a more equal representation for the future; and assert that, though servants, they are entitled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the same time, they advanced with the army to Windsor, and sent Colonel Eure to seize the king's person at Newport, and convey him to Hurst-castle in the neighbourhood, where he was detained in strict confinement.

The king seized again by the army.

This measure being foreseen some time before, the king was exhorted to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: but having given his word to the Parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after, he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating that promise. In vain was it urged that a promise given to the Parliament could no longer be binding; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound by no tie or engagement. The king would indulge no refinements of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects; and was resolved, that what depredations soever fortune should commit upon him, she never should bereave him of his honour[y].

[x] Whitlocke.

[y] Col. Cooke's Memoirs, p. 174. Rushw. vol. viii. p. 1347.

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The Parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger with which they were so nearly menaced. Though without any plan for resisting military usurpations, they resolved to withstand them to the uttermost; and rather to bring on a violent and visible subversion of government, than lend their authority to those illegal and sanguinary measures which were projected. They set aside the remonstrance of the army, without deigning to answer it; they voted the seizing of the king's person to be without their consent, and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprise had been executed; and they issued orders that the army should advance no nearer to London.

Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. It was proposed by them, that the generals and principal officers should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the Parliament.

But the Parliament was dealing with men who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he still allowed them to employ his name,) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the Parliament with their hostile armaments.

The Parliament, destitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to resist. They attempted, in the face of the army, to close their treaty with the king; and though they had formerly voted his concessions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unsatisfactory, they now took into consideration the final resolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, in the House of Commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the Houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom.

Next day, when the Commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the House with two regiments; and, directed by Lord Grey of Groby, Dec. 6. The House purged.

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he seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed by the appellation of *hell;* whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above one hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and the most determined of the independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This invasion of the Parliament commonly passed under the name of *Colonel Pride's purge;* so much disposed was the nation to make merry with the dethroning of those members, who had violently arrogated the whole authority of government, and deprived the king of his legal prerogatives.

The subsequent proceedings of the Parliament, if this diminutive assembly deserve that honourable name, retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory. They determined that no member, absent at this last vote, should be received, till he subscribed it as agreeable to his judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-addresses. And they committed to prison Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the generals Massey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the presbyterians. These men, by their credit and authority, which was then very high, had, at the commencement of the war, supported the Parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the greatness of the present leaders, who, at that time, were of small account in the nation.

The secluded members having published a paper, containing a narrative of the violence which had been exercised upon them, and a protestation, that all acts were void, which from that time had been transacted in the House of Commons: the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, in which they pronounced it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom.

These sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. Every man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the contention between those mighty powers which disputed for the sovereignty

of the state. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond sea: foreigners scrupled to give any credit to a people so torn by domestic faction, and oppressed by military usurpation: even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to stagnate. And in order to remedy these growing evils, the generals, in the name of the army, published a declaration, in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice[z].

The more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into consideration a scheme, called *The agreement of the people;* being the plan of a republic to be substituted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this scheme for correcting the inequalities of the representative are plausible, had the nation been disposed to receive it, or had the army intended to impose it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and savour strongly of that fanatical spirit so prevalent throughout the kingdom.

The height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this period was every measure precipitated by the zealous independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended that the army, themselves, should execute that daring enterprise; and they deemed so irregular and lawless a deed best fitted to such irregular and lawless instruments[a]. But the generals were too wise to load themselves singly with the infamy which, they knew, must attend an action so shocking to the general sentiments of mankind. The Parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of a measure which was thought requisite for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition. In the House of Commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his Parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, to try Charles for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the House of Peers.

The House of Peers, during the civil wars, had, all

[z] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 1364.

[a] Whitlocke.

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along, been of small account; but it had lately, since the king's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. It happened that day to be fuller than usual, and they were assembled, to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the Lower House, and adjourned themselves for ten days: hoping that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the Commons.

1648.

1642. The Commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, *That the people are the origin of all just power!* they next declared, that the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the Commons hath the force of law, without the consent of King or House of Peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, so they called him, was again read, and unanimously assented to.

4th Jan.

In proportion to the enormity of the violences and usurpations were augmented the pretences of sanctity among those regicides. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell in the House, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but, since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications."

A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence

gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions [b].

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the king's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, *My dear master!—I have indeed been so to you*, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourse was allowed between them. The king was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and prognosticated, that in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

Charles himself was assured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the preparations which were making, and the intelligence which he received, he could not, even yet, believe that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private assassination he every moment looked for; and though Harrison assured him, that his apprehensions were entirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as in reality, the king was now dethroned. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. At first he was shocked with instances of rudeness and familiarity, to which he had been so little accustomed. *Nothing so contemptible as a despised prince!* was the reflection which they suggested to him. But he soon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

All the circumstances of the trial were now adjusted; and the high court of justice fully constituted. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons as named by the Commons; but there scarcely ever sat above seventy: so difficult was it, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice and the allurements of interest, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal measure. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief

[b] Whitlocke, p. 360.

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officers of the army, most of them of mean birth, were members, together with some of the Lower House, and some citizens of London. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number: but as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the king for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England. Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

It is remarkable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read against the king, *In the name of the people of England;* the same voice exclaimed, *Not a tenth part of them.* Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came; it was discovered that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them. She was a person of noble extraction, daughter of Horace, Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced by the violence of the times, she had long seconded her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequence of all his boasted victories.

The king's trial,

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction corresponded to the greatest conception that is suggested in the annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the Commons, represented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and *entrusted* with a limited power; yet nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a pub-

lic and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

The king, though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and ere this time to have been restored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his personal liberty: that he could not now perceive any appearance of the Upper House, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned, that even the Commons, whose authority was pretended, were subdued by lawless force, and were bereaved of their liberty: that he himself was their NATIVE HEREDITARY KING; nor was the whole authority of the state, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven: that, admitting those extravagant principles which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power delegated by the people, unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained: that he acknowledged, without scruple, that he had a *trust* committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable; he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation: that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was as willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights for which, though in vain, he had so long contended: that those who arrogated a title to sit as his judges were born his subjects, and born subjects to those laws which determined *that the king can do no wrong:* that he was not reduced to the necessity of sheltering himself under this

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general maxim, which guards every English monarch, even the least deserving; but was able, by the most satisfactory reasons, to justify those measures in which he had been engaged: that to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was desirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse; but that, in order to preserve a uniformity of conduct, he must at present forego the apology of his innocence; lest by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr of the constitution.

The president, in order to support the majesty of the people, and maintain the superiority of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated, that he must not decline the authority of his judges; that they overruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of every lawful power; and that kings themselves acted but in trust from that community which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction. Even according to those principles, which in his present situation he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behaviour in general will appear not a little harsh and barbarous; but when we consider him as a subject, and one too of no high character, addressing himself to his unfortunate sovereign, his style will be esteemed, to the last degree, audacious and insolent.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the Parliament; they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two Houses; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son: but the court refused com-

27th Jan.

pliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice.

It is confessed, that the king's behaviour, during this last scene of his life, does honour to his memory; and

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that in all appearances before his judges he never forgot his part either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained in each reply the utmost perspicuity and justness both of thought and expression: mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice: *Poor souls!* said the king to one of his attendants: *for a little money they would do as much against their commanders*[c]. Some of them were permitted to go the utmost length of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face, as he was conducted along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of piety was the only effect which this inhuman insult was able to produce upon him.

The people, though under the rod of lawless unlimited power, could not forbear, with the most ardent prayers, pouring forth their wishes for his preservation; and in his present distress, they avowed *him*, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their misguided fury, they had before so violently rejected. The king was softened at this moving scheme, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One soldier, too, seized by contagious sympathy, demanded from Heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty: his officer, overhearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the king's presence. *The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence:* this was the reflection which Charles formed on that occasion[d].

As soon as the intention of trying the king was known in foreign countries, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of undisguised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf: the Dutch employed their good offices: the Scots exclaimed and

[c] Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 1425. [d] Warwick, p. 339.

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protested against the violence: the queen, the prince, wrote pathetic letters to the Parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindesey, applied to the Commons. They represented that they were the king's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: that in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blamable action of the prince: and that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the Commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend [e]. Such a generous effort tended to their honour; but contributed nothing towards the king's safety.

The people remained in that silence and astonishment which all great passions, when they have not an opportunity of exerting themselves, naturally produce in the human mind. The soldiers being incessantly plied with prayers, sermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury, and imagined, that in the acts of the most extreme disloyalty towards their prince, consisted their greatest merit in the eye of Heaven [f].

Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester; for the Duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant: the princess, notwithstanding her tender years, showed an advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many pious consolations and advices, the king gave her in charge to tell the queen, that, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in

[e] Perinchef, p. 85. Lloyde, p. 319.
[f] Burnet's History of his own Times.

his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

To the young duke, too, he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his sovereign. Holding him on his knee, he said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." At these words the child looked very stedfastly upon him. "Mark, child! what I say: they will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a king; but mark what I say, thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at last! Therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them!" The duke, sighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first!" So determined an answer, from one of such tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

Every night, during this interval, the king slept sound as usual; though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually resounded in his ears[g]. The morning of the fatal day he rose early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. Bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues by which the king himself was so much distinguished, assisted him in his devotions, and paid the last melancholy duties to his friend and sovereign. 30th Jan.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution: for it was intended, by choosing that very place, in sight of his own palace, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty. When the king came upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: he addressed therefore his discourse to the few persons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon and execution.

g Clement Walker's History of Independency.

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many others, his amiable deportment had wrought an entire conversion. He justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed that he had not taken arms till after the Parliament had enlisted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preserve that authority entire which his predecessors had transmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the Parliament; but was more inclined to think that ill instruments had interposed, and raised in them fears and jealousies with regard to his intentions. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon called to him: "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory."—"I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can have place." At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a visor performed the office of executioner: another in a like disguise held up to the spectators the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!*

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which took place, not only among the spectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of sorrow, but throughout the whole nation, as soon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was more dear to his people, than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy prince. In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him,

was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himself, either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppressed cause. On weaker minds, the effect of these complicated passions was prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb: others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their grave: nay some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears; those pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical parricides, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of iniquity had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.

A fresh instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the king's death. The generous Fairfax, not content with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, though none else would follow him, to rescue the king from his disloyal murderers. Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him that the Lord had rejected the king; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from Heaven on this important occasion: but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant till intelligence arrived that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential answer, which Heaven had sent to their devout supplications[h].

It being remarked, that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word REMEMBER; great mysteries were supposed to be concealed

[h] Herbert, p. 135.

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under that expression; and the generals vehemently insisted with the prelate, that he should inform them of the king's meaning. Juxon told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire: and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.

The character of this prince, as that of most men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or more properly speaking, his imperfections: for scarce any of his faults rose to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To consider him in the most favourable light, it may be affirmed that his dignity was free from pride, his humanity from weakness, his bravery from rashness, his temperance from austerity, his frugality from avarice: all these virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreserved praise. To speak the most harshly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with some latent frailty, which, though seemingly inconsiderable, was able, when seconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to disappoint them of all their influence: his beneficent disposition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tinctured with superstition; his good sense was disfigured by a deference to persons of a capacity inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from hasty and precipate resolutions. He deserves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular established government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular assembly, or finally to subdue their pretensions. He wanted suppleness and dexterity sufficient for the first measure: he was not endowed with the vigour requisite for the second. Had he been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense had rendered his reign happy, and his memory precious: had the limitations on prerogative been in his time quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard as sacred the boundaries of the constitution. Un-

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happily, his fate threw him into a period when the precedents of many former reigns savoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not sufficient to extricate him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; since even after the event, when it is commonly easy to correct all errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation. Exposed, without revenue, without arms, to the assault of furious, implacable, and bigoted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the most fatal consequences, to commit the smallest mistake; a condition too rigorous to be imposed on the greatest human capacity.

Some historians have rashly questioned the good faith of this prince: but for this reproach, the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which in every circumstance is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the extreme difficulties to which he was so frequently reduced, and compare the sincerity of his professions and declarations; we shall avow, that probity and honour ought justly to be numbered among his most shining qualities. In every treaty, those concessions which he thought he could not in conscience maintain, he never could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to make. And though some violations of the petition of right may perhaps be imputed to him; these are more to be ascribed to the necessity of his situation, and to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which, from former established precedents, he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles[i].

This prince was of a comely presence; of a sweet but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well-complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior, as well as many of the essential qualities, which form an accomplished prince.

[i] See note [O], at the end of the volume.

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The tragical death of Charles begat a question, whether the people, in any case, were entitled to judge and to punish their sovereign; and most men, regarding chiefly the atrocious usurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous prince who suffered, were inclined to condemn the republican principle as highly seditious and extravagant: but there were still a few who, abstracting from the particular circumstances of this case, were able to consider the question in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing sentiment. Such might have been their reasoning. If ever, on any occasion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace, it must be confessed, that the doctrine of resistance affords such an example, and that all speculative reasoners ought to observe, with regard to this principle, the same cautious silence, which the laws in every species of government have ever prescribed to themselves. Government is instituted in order to restrain the fury and injustice of the people, and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to weaken, by these speculations, the reverence which the multitude owe to authority, and to instruct them beforehand, that the case can ever happen when they may be freed from their duty of allegiance. Or should it be found impossible to restrain the licence of human disquisitions, it must be acknowledged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be *inculcated*, and that the exceptions, which are rare, ought seldom or never to be mentioned in popular reasonings and discourses. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reserve, should universally degenerate into a state of abject servitude. When the exception really occurs, even though it be not previously expected and descanted on, it must, from its very nature, be so obvious and undisputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the restraint, however great, imposed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But between resisting a prince and dethroning him, there is a wide interval, and the abuses of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are greater and more enormous than those which will justify the former. History, however, supplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the supposition, though for the future it ought ever to be little

looked for, must by all candid inquirers be acknowledged in the past. But between dethroning a prince and punishing him, there is another very wide interval; and it were not strange, if men even of the most enlarged thought should question, whether human nature could ever in any monarch reach that height of depravity, as to warrant, in revolted subjects, this last act of extraordinary jurisdiction. That illusion, if it be an illusion, which teaches us to pay a sacred regard to the persons of princes, is so salutary, that to dissipate it by the formal trial and punishment of a sovereign, will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than the example of justice can be supposed to have a beneficial influence upon princes, by checking their career of tyranny. It is dangerous, also, by these examples, to reduce princes to despair, or bring matters to such extremities against persons endowed with great power, as to leave them no resource, but in the most violent and most sanguinary counsels. This general position being established, it must however be observed, that no reader, almost of any party or principle, was ever shocked, when he read in ancient history, that the Roman senate voted Nero, their absolute sovereign, to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the severest and most ignominious punishment; a punishment from which the meanest Roman citizen was by the laws exempted. The crimes of that bloody tyrant are so enormous that they break through all rules, and extort a confession, that such a dethroned prince is no longer superior to his people, and can no longer plead, in his own defence, laws which were established for conducting the ordinary course of administration. But when we pass from the case of Nero to that of Charles, the great disproportion, or rather total contrariety, of character immediately strikes us; and we stand astonished that, among a civilized people, so much virtue could ever meet with so fatal a catastrophe. History, the great mistress of wisdom, furnishes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by those events which her enlarged mirror is able to present to us. From the memorable revolutions which passed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the same useful lesson which Charles himself in his later

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years inferred, that it is dangerous for princes, even from the appearance of necessity, to assume more authority than the laws have allowed them. But it must be confessed that these events furnish us with another instruction, no less natural, and no less useful, concerning the madness of the people, the furies of fanaticism, and the danger of mercenary armies.

In order to close this part of the British history, it is also necessary to relate the dissolution of the monarchy in England: that event soon followed upon the death of

6th Feb.

the monarch. When the Peers met, on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the Commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days the Lower House passed a vote that they would make no more addresses to the House of Peers, nor receive any from them; and that that House was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy; and it is remarkable, that Martin, a zealous republican, in the debate on this question, confessed that if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England [k]. The Commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England [l]; and it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales.

The Commons intended, it is said, to bind the Princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker: the Duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical employment. But the former soon died, of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end; the latter was, by Cromwell, sent beyond sea.

The king's statue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed: EXIT

[k] Walker's History of Independency, part 2.

[l] The Court of King's Bench was called the Court of Public Bench. So cautious on this head were some of the republicans, that it is pretended, in reciting the Lord's Prayer, they would not say *thy kingdom come*, but always *thy commonwealth come*.

TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings.* CHAP. LIX. 1649.

Duke Hamilton was tried by a new high court of justice, as Earl of Cambridge in England, and condemned for treason. This sentence, which was certainly hard, but which ought to save his memory from all imputations of treachery to his master, was executed on a scaffold erected before Westminster-hall. Lord Capel underwent the same fate. Both these noblemen had escaped from prison, but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the solicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders still replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence that they should suffer, since it had permitted them to fall into the hands of their enemies after they had once recovered their liberty.

The Earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence. Though of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the king, and his frequent changing of sides, were regarded as great stains on his memory. The Earl of Norwich, and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the same court, were pardoned by the Commons.

The king left six children; three males, Charles, born in 1630, James, Duke of York, born in 1633, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, born in 1641; and three females, Mary, Princess of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, born at Exeter, 1644.

The Archbishops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Laud; the lord-keepers, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Coventry, Lord Finch, Lord Littleton, and Sir Richard Lane; the high admirals, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Northumberland; the treasurers, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, Juxon, Bishop of London, and Lord Cottington; the secretaries of state, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, and Sir Edward Nicholas.

It may be expected that we should here mention the *Icon Basiliké*, a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution. It seems almost impossible, in

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the controverted parts of history, to say any thing which will satisfy the zealots of both parties: but with regard to the genuineness of that production, it is not easy for an historian to fix any opinion which will be entirely to his own satisfaction. The proofs brought to evince that this work is or is not the king's are so convincing, that if an impartial reader peruse any one side apart [m], he will think it impossible that arguments could be produced sufficient to counterbalance so strong an evidence; and when he compares both sides, he will be some time at a loss to fix any determination. Should an absolute suspense of judgment be found difficult or disagreeable in so interesting a question, I must confess that I much incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royalists. The testimonies which prove that performance to be the king's, are more numerous, certain, and direct, than those on the other side. This is the case, even if we consider the external evidence; but when we weigh the internal, derived from the style and composition, there is no manner of comparison. These meditations resemble, in elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity, the genius of those performances which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen; but are so unlike the bombast, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt style of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are ascribed, that no human testimony seems sufficient to convince us that he was the author. Yet all the evidences which would rob the king of that honour, tend to prove that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing so fine a performance, and the infamy of imposing it on the world for the king's.

It is not easy to conceive the general compassion excited towards the king, by the publishing, at so critical a juncture, a work so full of piety, meekness, and humanity. Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the subsequent restoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to those which were wrought on the

[m] See, on the one hand, Toland's Amyntor, and, on the other, Wagstaffe's Vindication of the Royal Martyr, with Young's addition. We may remark, that Lord Clarendon's total silence with regard to this subject, in so full a history, composed in vindication of the king's measures and character, forms a presumption on Toland's side, and a presumption of which that author was ignorant, the works of the noble historian not being then published. Bishop Burnet's testimony, too, must be allowed of some weight against the *Icon*.

tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæsar. The *Icon* passed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great interest taken in it by the nation, as the supposed production of their murdered sovereign, it must be acknowledged the best prose composition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the English language.

CHAPTER LX.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

State of England—of Scotland—of Ireland.—Levellers suppressed.—Siege of Dublin raised.—Tredah stormed.—Covenanters.—Montrose taken Prisoner—executed.—Covenanters.—Battle of Dunbar—of Worcester.—King's Escape.—The Commonwealth.—Dutch War.—Dissolution of the Parliament.

CHAP. LX.

1649. State of England.

The confusions which overspread England after the murder of Charles I. proceeded as well from the spirit of refinement and innovation which agitated the ruling party, as from the dissolution of all that authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, by which the nation had ever been accustomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and however new it was, or fantastical, he was eager in recommending it to his fellow-citizens, or even imposing it by force upon them. Every man had adjusted a system of religion, which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himself; and being founded on supposed inspiration, not on any principles of human reason, had no means, besides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itself to others. The levellers insisted on an equal distribution of power and property, and disclaimed all dependence and subordination. The millenarians or fifth monarchy men required, that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The Antinomians even insisted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine, were superior to the *beggarly elements* of justice and humanity. A considerable party declaimed against tithes and hireling priesthood, and were resolved that the magistrate should not support by power or revenue any ecclesiastical establishment. Another party inveighed

against the law and its professors; and on pretence of rendering more simple the distribution of justice, were desirous of abolishing the whole system of English jurisprudence, which seemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even those among the republicans who adopted not such extravagances were so intoxicated with their saintly character, that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges; and all professions, oaths, laws, and engagements, had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them. The bands of society were every where loosened; and the irregular passions of men were encouraged by speculative principles still more unsocial and irregular.

The royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, being degraded from their authority, and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries who had reduced them to subjection. The presbyterians, whose credit had first supported the arms of the Parliament, were enraged to find that, by the treachery or superior cunning of their associates, the fruits of all their successful labours were ravished from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealously attached themselves to the son of their unfortunate monarch, whose memory they respected, and whose tragical death they deplored. The latter cast their eye towards the same object; but they had still many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealousies to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of restoring the family which they had so grievously offended, and whose principles they regarded with such violent abhorrence.

The only solid support of the republican independent faction, which, though it formed so small a part of the nation, had violently usurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of near fifty thousand men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit that rendered it dangerous to the assembly which had assumed the command over it. Accustomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every frenzy in religion, the soldiers knew little of the subordination of citizens, and had

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only learned, from apparent necessity, some maxims of military obedience: and while they still maintained, that all those enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were justified by the success with which Providence had blessed them, they were ready to break out into any new disorder, wherever they had the prospect of a like sanction and authority.

What alone gave some stability to all these unsettled humours was, the great influence, both civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwell. This man, suited to the age in which he lived, and to that alone, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character, as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterprising. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meanest sentinel, he never lost his authority; transported to a degree of madness with religious ecstasies, he never forgot the political purposes to which they might serve. Hating monarchy, while a subject; despising liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for a time all orders of men under a seeming obedience to the Parliament, he was secretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The Parliament, for so we must henceforth call a small and inconsiderable part of the House of Commons, having murdered their sovereign with so many appearing circumstances of solemnity and justice, and so much real violence and even fury, began to assume more the air of a civil legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom upon which they stood. They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, such as were liable to least exception; but on condition that these members should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial; and some of them were willing to acquire a share of power on such terms: the greater part disdained to lend their authority to such apparent usurpations. They issued some writs for new elections in places where they hoped to have interest enough to bring in their own friends and dependents. They named a council of state, thirty-eight in number, to whom all addresses were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the

laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into Parliament[a]. They pretended to employ themselves entirely in adjusting the laws, forms, and plan of a new representative; and as soon as they should have settled the nation, they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom they acknowledged they had entirely derived it.

The commonwealth found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leisure or inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself amidst his present distresses with the hopes of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new republic.

Of Scotland.

After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity, however, against the independents, who had prevented the settlement of presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Though invited by the English Parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. They considered besides, that as the property of the kingdom lay mostly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to establish a commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execution, therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately

[a] Their names were, the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, Lords Grey and Fairfax, Lisle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haselrig, Harrington, Vane jun., Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scott, Purefoy, Jones.

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proclaimed his son and successor, Charles II.; but upon condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men and faithful to that obligation." These unusual clauses, inserted in the very first acknowledgment of their prince, sufficiently showed their intention of limiting extremely his authority: and the English commonwealth, having no pretence to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots for the present to take their own measures in settling their government.

Of Ireland.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland demanded more immediately their efforts for subduing that country. In order to convey a just notion of Irish affairs, it will be necessary to look backwards some years, and to relate briefly those transactions which had passed during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late king agreed to that cessation of arms with the popish rebels[b], which was become so requisite, as well for the security of the Irish Protestants as for promoting his interests in England, the Parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favouring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly against the terms of the cessation. They even went so far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, because finished without their consent; and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the Earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. By their means the war was still kept alive; but as the dangerous distractions in England, hindered the Parliament from sending any considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland, the Marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant, being a native of Ireland, and a person endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and for engaging the rebel Irish to support the cause of his royal master. There were many circumstances which strongly invited the natives of Ireland to embrace the king's party. The maxims of that prince had always led him to give a reasonable indulgence to the Catholics throughout all his dominions; and one principal ground of that enmity which the

[b] 1643.

puritans professed against him was this tacit toleration. The Parliament, on the contrary, even when unprovoked, had ever menaced the Papists with the most rigid restraint, if not a total extirpation; and immediately after the commencement of the Irish rebellion, they put to sale all the estates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that security. The success, therefore, which the arms of the Parliament met with at Naseby, struck a just terror into the Irish; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the Marquis of Ormond [c]. They professed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, and were content with stipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

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Ormond, not doubting but a peace, so advantageous and even necessary to the Irish, would be strictly observed, advanced with a small body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert measures for common defence with his new allies. The pope had sent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whose commission empowered him to direct the spiritual concerns of the Irish, was imboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to assume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreseeing that a general submission to the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conspired with Owen O'Neal, who commanded the native Irish in Ulster, and who bore a great jealousy to Preston, the general chiefly trusted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, these two malecontents secretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in security, trusting to the pacification so lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with celerity and conduct, and sheltered his small army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

The nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition,

[c] 1646.

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was not contented with this violation of treaty. He summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against that pacification which the civil council had concluded with their sovereign. He even thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a peace so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the Catholic religion; and the deluded Irish, terrified with his spiritual menaces, ranged themselves every where on his side, and submitted to his authority. Without scruple, he carried on war against the lord-lieutenant, and threatened with a siege the Protestant garrisons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate king was necessitated to take shelter in the Scottish army; and being there reduced to close confinement, and secluded from all commerce with his friends, despaired that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be restored to him. He sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than to the Irish rebels; and accordingly the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to Colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English Parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, was admitted into the king's presence, received a grateful acknowledgment for his past services, and during some time lived in tranquillity near London. But being banished, with the other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal master, and threaten him with a catastrophe still more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the queen and the Prince of Wales.

In Ireland, during these transactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the Catholics; and that prelate, by his indiscretion and insolence, soon made them repent of the power with which they had entrusted him. Prudent men likewise were sensible of the total destruction which was hanging over the nation from the English Parliament, and saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The Earl of Clanricarde, a noble-

man of an ancient family, a person too of merit, who had ever preserved his loyalty, was sensible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was resolved, if possible, to prevent it. He secretly formed a combination among the Catholics; he entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the Protestants in Munster; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord-lieutenant to return and take possession of his government. CHAP. LX. 1649.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. The authority of the English Parliament was established in Dublin and the other towns, which he himself had delivered into their hands. O'Neal maintained his credit in Ulster; and having entered into a secret correspondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on schemes for his own personal safety, than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their measures. The Scots in the north, enraged, as well as their other countrymen, against the usurpations of the sectarian army, professed their adherence to the king, but were still hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his lieutenant. All these distracted counsels and contrary humours checked the progress of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground against him. The republican faction, meanwhile, in England, employed in subduing the revolted royalists, in reducing the Parliament to subjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of their sovereign, totally neglected the supplying of Ireland, and allowed Jones, and the forces in Dublin, to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord-lieutenant, though surrounded with difficulties, neglected not the favourable opportunity of promoting the royal cause. Having at last assembled an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied

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against their governor. Tredah, Newry, and other forts, were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the contest of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the presbyterians endeavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a command where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority

March 15.

acquired. In his absence, he took care to have his name proposed to the council of state, and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote him into that important office: the former suspected that the matter had not been proposed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter desired to remove him to a distance, and hoped, during his absence, to gain the ascendant over Fairfax, whom he had so long blinded by his hypocritical professions. Cromwell himself, when informed of his election, feigned surprise, and pretended, at first, to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of the command; and Lambert, either deceived by his dissimulation, or in his turn feigning to be deceived, still continued, notwithstanding this disappointment, his friendship and connexions with Cromwell.

The new lieutenant immediately applied himself with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many disorders in England it behoved him previously to compose. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Though men, astonished with the successes of the army, remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of the greatest discontent every where appeared. The English, long accustomed to a mild administration, and unacquainted with dissimulation, could not conform their speech and countenance to the present necessity, or pretend attachment to a form of government which they generally regarded with such violent abhorrence. It was requisite to change the magistracy of London, and to de-

grade, as well as punish, the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of monarchy could be published in the city. An engagement being framed to support the commonwealth without King or House of Peers, the army was with some difficulty brought to subscribe it; but though it was imposed upon the rest of the nation, under severe penalties, no less than putting all who refused out of the protection of law, such obstinate reluctance was observed in the people, that even the imperious Parliament was obliged to desist from it. The spirit of fanaticism, by which that assembly had at first been strongly supported, was now turned in a great measure against them. The pulpits being chiefly filled with presbyterians or disguised royalists, and having long been the scene of news and politics, could by no penalties be restrained from declarations unfavourable to the established government. Numberless were the extravagances which broke out among the people. Everard, a disbanded soldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among Christians, led out his followers to take possession of the land; and being carried before the general, he refused to salute him, because he was but his fellow-creature [d]. What seemed more dangerous, the army itself was infected with like humours [e]. Though the levellers had for a time been suppressed by the audacious spirit of Cromwell, they still continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be consulted, as before, in the administration of the commonwealth. They now practised against their officers the same lesson which they had been taught against the Parliament. They framed a remonstrance, and sent five agitators to present it to the general and council of war: these were cashiered with ignominy by sentence of a court-martial. One Lockier, having carried his sedition farther, was sentenced to death; but this punishment was so far from quelling the mutinous spirit, that above a thousand of his companions showed their adherence to him by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and sea-green ribbons by way of favours.

[d] Whitlocke.

[e] See note [P], at the end of the volume.

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1649. Levellers suppressed. May.

About four thousand assembled at Burford, under the command of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwell, fell upon them while unprepared for defence, and seduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken prisoners; some of them capitally punished, the rest pardoned; and this tumultuous spirit, though it still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

Petitions, framed in the same spirit of opposition, were presented to the Parliament by Lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious libels, had formerly been treated with such severity by the star-chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the Parliament, and he was thrown into prison as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release, but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters, the Parliament was harassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast which the city gave to the Parliament and council of state, it was deemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

The Parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high-treason beyond those narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, though they had never appeared in any overt act against the state. To affirm the present government to be an usurpation, to assert that the Parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour subverting their authority, or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason. The power of imprisonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the king, it was now found necessary to restore to the council of state; and all the jails in England were filled with men whom the jealousies and fears

of the ruling party had represented as dangerous [f]. The taxes continued by the new government, and which, being unusual, were esteemed heavy, increased the general ill-will under which it laboured. Besides the customs and excise, ninety thousand pounds a month were levied on land for the subsistence of the army. The sequestrations and compositions of the royalists, the sale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, though they yielded great sums, were not sufficient to support the vast expenses, and, as was suspected, the great depredations, of the Parliament and of their creatures [g]. CHAP. LX. 1649.

Amidst all these difficulties and disturbances, the steady mind of Cromwell, without confusion or embarrassment, still pursued its purpose. While he was collecting an army of twelve thousand men in the west of England, he sent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thousand horse and foot, in order to strengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himself against the Marquis of Ormond, who lay at Finglass, and was making preparations for the attack of Dublin. Inchiquin, who had now made a treaty with the king's lieutenant, having, with a separate body taken Tredah and Dundalk, gave a defeat to Offarrell, who served under O'Neal, and to young Coot, who commanded some parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom, for some time, he remained united, Ormond passed the river Liffy, and took post at Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the siege of that city. In order to cut off all farther supply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort which lay at the gates of Dublin, and being exhausted with continual fatigue for some days, he had retired to rest, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. He was suddenly awaked with 2nd Aug. the noise of firing; and, starting from his bed, saw every thing already in tumult and confusion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had sallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, pursued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. These he soon threw

[f] History of Independency, part ii. [g] Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 136. 176.

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1649. Siege of Dublin raised.

into disorder; put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant; chased them off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing a thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners [h].

This loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. That numerous army which, with so much pains and difficulty, the lord-lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was dispersed in a moment. Cromwell soon after arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings. He hastened to Tredah. That town was well fortified: Ormond had thrown into it a good garrison of three thousand men, under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would first be attempted by Cromwell, and he was desirous to employ the enemy some time in that siege, while he himself should repair his broken forces. But Cromwell knew the importance of despatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, led on his men. All opposition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken sword in hand, and orders being issued to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved by the soldiers satiated with blood, were next day miserably butchered by orders from the general. One person alone of the garrison escaped, to be a messenger of this universal havoc and destruction.

Aug. 15.

September. Tredah stormed.

Cromwell pretended to retaliate by this severe execution the cruelty of the Irish massacre: but he well knew that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy in order to terrify all other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garrison, after a slight defence, offered to capitulate; but before they obtained a cessation, they imprudently neglected their guards, and the English army rushed in

[h] Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 165.

upon them. The same severity was exercised as at Tredah. CHAP. LX. 1649.

Every town before which Cromwell presented himself now opened its gates without resistance. Ross, though strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by Lord Taffe. Having taking Estionage, Cromwell threw a bridge over October. the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carric. The English had no farther difficulties to encounter than what arose from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept in among the soldiers, who perished in great numbers. Jones himself, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwell had so far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to subsist in the enemy's country, or retreat to his own garrisons. But while he was in these straits, Corke, November. Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, deserted to him, and, opening their gates, resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

This desertion of the English put an end to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminished by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah, and Wexford. The Irish, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a Protestant governor, who was so unsuccessful in all his enterprises. The clergy renewed their excommunications against him and his adherents, and added the terrors of superstition to those which arose from a victorious enemy. Cromwell, having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the spring. He made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. The whole frame of the Irish union being in a manner dissolved, Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above forty thousand men passed into foreign service; and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

While Cromwell proceeded with such uninterrupted

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success in Ireland, which in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague when Sir Joseph Douglas brought him intelligence that he was proclaimed king by the Scottish Parliament. At the same time, Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and extremely damped that joy which might arise from his being recognized sovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too considered, that those who pretended to acknowledge his title were at that very time in actual rebellion against his family, and would be sure to entrust very little authority in his hands, and scarcely would afford him personal liberty and security. As the prospect of affairs in Ireland was at that time not unpromising, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more dutiful submission and obedience.

Meanwhile, he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were much attached to his interests. Besides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compassion his helpless condition, and expressed the greatest abhorrence against the murder of his father: a deed to which nothing, they thought, but the rage of fanaticism and faction could have impelled the Parliament. But though the public in general bore great favour to the king, the states were uneasy at his presence. They dreaded the Parliament, so formidable by their power, and so prosperous in all their enterprises. They apprehended the most precipitate resolutions from men of such violent and haughty dispositions. And after the murder of Dorislaus, they found it still more necessary to satisfy the English commonwealth, by removing the king to a distance from them.

1650. Dorislaus, though a native of Holland, had lived long in England; and being employed as assistant to the high court of justice which condemned the late king, he had risen to great credit and favour with the ruling party. They sent him envoy to Holland; but no sooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was set upon by

some royalists, chiefly retainers to Montrose. They rushed into the room, where he was sitting with some company; dragged him from the table; put him to death as the first victim to their murdered sovereign; very leisurely and peaceably separated themselves; and though orders were issued by the magistrates to arrest them, these were executed with such slowness and reluctance, that the criminals had all of them the opportunity of making their escape.

Charles, having passed some time at Paris, where no assistance was given him, and even few civilities were paid him, made his retreat into Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged. Here Winram, Laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of estates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions to which he must necessarily submit before he could be admitted to the exercise of his authority. Conditions more severe were never imposed by subjects upon their sovereign; but as the affairs of Ireland began to decline, and the king found it no longer safe to venture himself in that island, he gave a civil answer to Winram, and desired the commissioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to these conditions.

Covenanters.

The Earls of Cassilis and Lothian, Lord Burleigh, the Laird of Liberton, and other commissioners, arrived at Breda, but without any power of treating: the king must submit, without reserve, to the terms imposed upon him. The terms were, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons, that is, all those who, either under Hamilton or Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject, who had served against the Parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of Parliament, by which presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith, and the catechism, were established; and that in civil affairs he should entirely conform himself to the direction of Parliament, and in ecclesiastical to that of the assembly. These proposals, the commissioners, after passing some time in sermons and prayers, in order to express the more determined resolution, very solemnly delivered to the king.

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1650.

The king's friends were divided with regard to the part which he should act in this critical conjuncture. Most of his English counsellors dissuaded him from accepting conditions so disadvantageous and dishonourable. They said that the men who now governed Scotland were the most furious and bigoted of that party, which, notwithstanding his gentle government, had first excited a rebellion against the late king; after the most unlimited concessions, had renewed their rebellion, and stopped the progress of his victories in England; and, after he had entrusted his person to them in his uttermost distress, had basely sold him, together with their own honour, to his barbarous enemies; that they had as yet shown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms which they now proposed, displayed the same antimonarchical principles, and the same jealousy of their sovereign, by which they had ever been actuated: that nothing could be more dishonourable than that the king, in his first enterprise, should sacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father had died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated: that by this hypocrisy he might lose the royalists, who alone were sincerely attached to him: but never would gain the presbyterians, who were averse to his family and his cause, and would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity: that the Scots had refused to give him any assurances of their intending to restore him to the throne of England; and could they even be brought to make such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprise: that on the first check which they should receive, Argyle and his partisans would lay hold of the quickest expedient for reconciling themselves to the English Parliament, and would betray the king, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: and that, however desperate the royal cause, it must still be regarded as highly imprudent in the king to make a sacrifice of his honour; where the sole purchase was to endanger his life or liberty.

The Earl of Laneric, now Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were

then with the king; and being desirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young Duke of Buckingham, and earnestly pressed him to submit to the conditions required of him. It was urged that nothing would more gratify the king's enemies than to see him fall into the snare laid for him, and by so scrupulous a nicety leave the possession of his dominions to those who desired but a pretence for excluding him: that Argyle, not daring so far to oppose the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his sovereign, had embraced this expedient, by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himself, and refuse a kingdom which was offered him: that it was not to be doubted but the same national spirit, assisted by Hamilton and his party, would rise still higher in favour of their prince after he had entrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigour of the conditions now imposed upon him: that whatever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the king's friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power so much superior: that how much soever a steady, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced age and strict engagements of the late king, no one would throw any blame on a young prince for complying with conditions which necessity had extorted from him: that even the rigour of those principles professed by his father, though with some it had exalted his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his interests; nor could any thing be more serviceable to the royal cause, than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: and that, where affairs were reduced to so desperate a situation, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the king's honour lay rather in showing some early symptoms of courage and activity, than in choosing strictly a party among theological controversies, with which, it might be supposed, he was as yet very little acquainted.

These arguments, seconded by the advice of the queen-mother, and of the Prince of Orange, the king's brother-in-law, who both of them thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to episcopacy, had great

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influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply, was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Though in this instance the king saw, more evidently, the furious spirit by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no farther resource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

Montrose, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural disposition, had lived for some time inactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous Cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memoirs as one of those heroes of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was caressed by the emperor, received the rank of mareschal, and proposed to levy a regiment for the imperial service. While employed for that purpose in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the king; and at the same time received from his young master a renewal of his commission as captain-general in Scotland[i]. His ardent and daring spirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The king of Denmark and Duke of Holstein sent him some small supply of money; the Queen of Sweden furnished him with arms; the Prince of Orange with ships; and Montrose, hastening his enterprise, lest the king's agreement with the Scots should make him revoke his commission, set out for the Orkneys with about five hundred men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations which he could make against a kingdom, settled in domestic peace, supported by a disciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprise, and prepared against him. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophecy, that *to him and him alone it was reserved to restore the king's authority in all his dominions;* he lent a willing ear to suggestions

[i] Burnet. Clarendon.

which, however ill-grounded or improbable, were so conformable to his own daring character.

He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithness; hoping that the general affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. But all men were now harassed and fatigued with wars and disorders. Many of those who formerly adhered to him had been severely punished by the covenanters, and no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was drawn together against him. But however weak Montrose's army, the memory of past events struck a great terror into the committee of estates. They immediately ordered Lesley and Holborne to march against him with an army of four thousand men. Strahan was sent before, with a body of cavalry, to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend to whom he had entrusted his person.

Montrose taken prisoner.

All the insolence which success can produce in ungenerous minds was exercised by the covenanters against Montrose, whom they so much hated and so much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther increased their indignities towards a person whom they regarded as impious, on account of the excommunication which had been pronounced against him. Lesley led him about for several days in the same low habit under which he had disguised himself. The vulgar, wherever he passed, were instigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumstance of elaborate rage and insult was put in practice by order of the Parliament. At the gate of the city he was met by the magistrates, and put into a new cart, purposely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then

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took off the hat of the noble prisoner, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with the marquis, walking two and two before them.

The populace, more generous and humane, when they saw so mighty a change of fortune in this great man, so lately their dread and terror, into whose hands the magistrates, a few years before, had delivered on their knees the keys of the city, were struck with compassion, and viewed him with silent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed against this movement of rebel nature, as they termed it; and reproached the people with their profane tenderness towards the capital enemy of piety and religion.

When he was carried before the Parliament, which was then sitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had subscribed; his rebellion against God, the king, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose, in his answer, maintained the same superiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the consciousness of a good cause, he was justly entitled. He told the Parliament, that since the king, as he was informed, had so far avowed their authority, as to enter into a treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect which, while they stood in open defiance to their sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged, with infinite shame and remorse, the errors of his early conduct, when their plausible pretences had seduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms against his prince and country. That his following services, he hoped, had sufficiently testified his repentance; and his death would now atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could justly reproach himself. That in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard. That to venture his life for his sovereign was the least part of his merit: he

had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the sacred commands of the king; and had resigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was still enabled to dispute with them. That no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle: and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers. That he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and affronted. That as to himself, they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities: the justice of his cause, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to see the authority of his prince, with which he was invested, treated with so much ignominy. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjust sentence, his late sovereign; and should be happy if, in his future destiny, he could follow him to the same blissful mansions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompense. CHAP. LX. 1650.

Montrose's sentence was next pronounced against him, "That he, James Graham, (for that was the only name they vouchsafed to give him,) should next day be carried to Edinburgh cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty feet high, for the space of three hours: then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison: his legs and arms be stuck upon the four chief towns of the kingdom: his body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication."

The clergy, hoping that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and insulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and assured him, that the judgment, which he was so soon to suffer, would prove but an easy prologue to that which he must undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: but he was too well acquainted with those forms of im-

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precation which they called prayers. "Lord, vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible sinner; this wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane person, who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy church." Such were the petitions which he expected they would, according to custom, offer up for him. He told them that they were a miserably deluded and deluding people, and would shortly bring their country under the most insupportable servitude to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my head affixed to the place where it is sentenced to stand, than to have my picture hang in the king's bedchamber. So far from being sorry that my quarters are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom; I wish I had limbs enow to be dispersed into all the cities of Christendom, there to remain as testimonies in favour of the cause for which I suffer." This sentiment, that very evening, while in prison, he threw into verse. The poem remains; a signal monument of his heroic spirit, and no despicable proof of his poetical genius.

21st May.

Now was led forth, amidst the insults of his enemies and the tears of the people, this man, of illustrious birth, and of the greatest renown in the nation, to suffer, for his adhering to the laws of his country and the rights of his sovereign, the ignominious death destined to the meanest malefactor. Every attempt which the insolence of the governing party had made to subdue his spirit had hitherto proved fruitless: they made yet one effort more, in this last and melancholy scene, when all enmity, arising from motives merely human, is commonly softened and disarmed. The executioner brought that book which had been published in elegant Latin, of his great military actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montrose smiled at this new instance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and said, that he bore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more

Executed.

pride than he had ever worn the garter. Having asked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

Thus perished, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the gallant Marquis of Montrose; the man whose military

genius, both by valour and conduct, had shone forth beyond any which, during these civil disorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts, too, he had in his youth successfully cultivated; and whatever was sublime, elegant, or noble, touched his great soul. Nor was he insensible to the pleasures either of society or of love. Something, however, of the *vast* and *unbounded* characterized his actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of superiority, and even of equality, to pay such unlimited submission to the will of his sovereign. 1650.

The vengeance of the covenanters was not satisfied with Montrose's execution. Urrey, whose inconstancy now led him to take part with the king, suffered about the same time: Spotiswood of Daersie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and Colonel Sibbald, all of them of birth and character, underwent a like fate. These were taken prisoners with Montrose. The Marquis of Huntley, about a year before, had also fallen a victim to the severity of the covenanters.

The past scene displays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: the sequel will sufficiently display their absurdity.

The king, in consequence of his agreement with the commissioners of Scotland, set sail for that country; and being escorted by seven Dutch ships of war, who were sent to guard the herring fishery, he arrived in the frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to sign the covenant; and many sermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy [k]. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that party whom they called Engagers, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their houses, where they lived in a private manner without trust or authority. None of his English friends, who had served his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king himself found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty which he possessed served only to draw on him the greater indignities. One 23rd June. Covenanters.

[k] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 159.

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of the quarters of Montrose, his faithful servant, who had borne his commission, had been sent to Aberdeen, and was still allowed to hang over the gates when he passed by that place[l]. The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of estates and the army, who were entirely governed by the assembly, set forth a public declaration, in which they protested, "that they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds or principles: that they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king, and of his house; nor would they own him or his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owned and prosecuted the cause of God, and acknowledged the sins of his house, and of his former ways[m]."

The king, lying entirely at mercy, and having no assurance of life or liberty, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of these austere zealots, was constrained to embrace a measure which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperience, could excuse. He issued a declaration, such as they required of him[n]. He there gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures, opposing the covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people throughout all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; a matter of great offence, he said, to all the Protestant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children. He professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness; and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions. He declared that he should never love or favour those who had so little con-

16th Aug.

[l] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 160.
[m] Ibid. p. 166, 167. [n] Ibid. p. 170.

science as to follow his interests, in preference to the gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn upon his cause, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, divine Providence would crown his arms with victory. CHAP. LX. 1650.

Still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the king's sincerity. The facility which he discovered in yielding whatever was required of him, made them suspect, that he regarded his concessions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he must of necessity submit. They had another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They sent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed that he would submit to this indignity. The various transgressions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and farther declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restoration of his rights for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ [o]. In short, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were resolved to trample on it, and vilify it, by every instance of contumely which their present influence enabled them to impose upon their unhappy prince.

Charles in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure. He was not called to assist at any councils. His favour was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts which he made to unite the opposite parties increased the suspicion which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he were not entirely their own. Argyle, who by subtilties and compliances was partly led, and partly governed, by this wild faction, still turned a deaf ear to all advances which the king made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *engagers* con-

[o] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 178.

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tinued to be the objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever was obnoxious to the clergy failed not to have one or other of these epithets affixed to him. The fanaticism which prevailed, being so full of sour and angry principles, and so overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: these were the *sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers accused of that crime were burnt, by sentence of the magistrates, throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwick, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire[p]; and it became a science, every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms[q].

The advance of the English army under Cromwell was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were still resolute to exclude all but their most zealous adherents. As soon as the English Parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with vigilance and industry persevered in the work of subduing and expelling the natives.

It was expected that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland, and appear at the head of the forces; a station for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, though he had allowed the army to make use of his name in murdering their sovereign and offering violence to the Parliament, had entertained insurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as zealous presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred bands of the covenant. He was farther disgusted at the extremities into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his repugnance by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herself much governed by the

[p] Whitlocke, p. 404. 408.

[q] Ibid. p. 396. 418.

presbyterian clergy. A committee of Parliament was sent to reason with him, and Cromwell was of the number. In vain did they urge that the Scots had first broken the covenant by their invasion of England under Hamilton; and that they would surely renew their hostile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous measures of the commonwealth. Cromwell, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax in every thing which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to solicit him with the utmost earnestness, and went so far as to shed tears of grief and vexation on the occasion. No one could suspect any ambition in the man who laboured so zealously to retain his general in that high office which, he knew, he himself was alone entitled to fill. The same warmth of temper which made Cromwell a frantic enthusiast, rendered him the most dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful successes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal he engaged every one to co-operate with him in his measures; and entering easily and affectionately into every part which he was disposed to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempest of passion, all his crooked schemes and profound artifices.

Fairfax having resigned his commission, it was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a commonwealth which stood entirely by arms, was of the utmost importance, and was the chief step which this ambitious politician had yet made towards sovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The command of the Scottish army was given to Lesley, an experienced officer, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He intrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians every thing which could serve to the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scotch camp, and endeavoured by every expedient to bring Lesley to a battle; the prudent Scotchman knew that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in disci-

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pline to the English, and he carefully kept himself within his intrenchments. By skirmishes and small rencounters he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers, and he was successful in these enterprises. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp, and having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiery, who were more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit and vivacity, than under a committee of talking gown-men. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp. They also purged it carefully of about four thousand *malignants* and *engagers*, whose zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation[r]. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely not only against their prudent general, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance[s]; and they plainly told him, that if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God[t]. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking.

Cromwell found himself in a very bad situation. He had no provisions but what he received by sea. He had not had the precaution to bring these in sufficient quantities, and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him, and he encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities. He had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonour.

Night and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied

[r] Sir Edw. Walker, p. 165. [s] Idem, p. 168.
[t] Whitlocke, p. 449.

that they had at last obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, were made them, that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell, looking through a glass, saw the enemy's camp in motion, and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was easily observed that nothing, in military actions, can supply the place of discipline and experience; and that, in the presence of real danger, where men are not accustomed to it, the fumes of enthusiasm presently dissipate, and lose their influence. The Scots, though double in number to the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. The chief, if not only, resistance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army which was the least infected with fanaticism. No victory could be more complete than this which was obtained by Cromwell. About three thousand of the enemy were slain, and nine thousand taken prisoners. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague which seized Cromwell, kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

Battle of Dunbar. 3d Sept.

The clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord that to them it was little to sacrifice their lives and estates, but to him it was a great loss to suffer his elect to be destroyed [u]. They published a declaration, containing the cause of their late misfortunes. These visitations they ascribed to the manifold provocations of the king's house, of which they feared he had not yet thoroughly repented; the secret intrusion of malignants into the king's family, and even into the camp; the leaving of a most malignant and profane guard of horse, who, being sent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight with the army; the owning of the king's quarrel by many without subordi-

[u] Sir Edward Walker.

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Cromwell, having been so successful in the war of the sword, took up the pen against the Scottish ecclesiastics. He wrote them some polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewise to retort on them their favourite argument of providence, and asked them, Whether the Lord had not declared against them? But the ministers thought that the same events which to their enemies were judgments, to them were trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face for a time from Jacob. But Cromwell insisted that the appeal had been made to God in the most express and solemn manner, and that, in the fields of Dunbar, an irrevocable decision had been awarded in favour of the English army [w].

1651. The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event. The armies which fought on both sides were almost equally his enemies; and the vanquished were now obliged to give him some more authority, and apply to him for support. The Parliament was summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions. Some malignants also crept in under various pretences. The intended humiliation or penance of the king was changed into the ceremony
1st Jan. of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great pomp and solemnity. But amidst all this appear-

[w] This is the best of Cromwell's wretched compositions that remains, and we shall here extract a passage out of it. "You say you have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God had wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in this mighty and strange appearance of his, but can slightly call it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited on God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these mere events? The Lord pity you! Surely we fear, because it has been a merciful and a gracious deliverance to us.

"I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers that you may find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Christ yearn after the godly in Scotland." Thurloe, vol. i. p. 158.

ance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid covenanters; and though treated with civility and courtesy by Argyle, a man of parts and address, he was little better than a prisoner, and was still exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the ecclesiastics.

This young prince was in a situation which very ill suited his temper and disposition. All those good qualities which he possessed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety, his gentleman-like, disengaged behaviour, were here so many vices; and his love of ease, liberty, and pleasure, was regarded as the highest enormity. Though artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, the sanctified style was utterly unknown to him, and he never could mould his deportment into that starched grimace, which the covenanters required as an infallible mark of conversion. The Duke of Buckingham was the only English courtier allowed to attend him; and by his ingenious talent for ridicule, he had rendered himself extremely agreeable to his master. While so many objects of derision surrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether insensible to the temptation, and wholly to suppress the laugh. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons, they betrayed evident symptoms of weariness or contempt. The clergy never could esteem the king sufficiently regenerated; and by continual exhortations, remonstrances, and reprimands, they still endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty.

The king's passion for the fair could not altogether be restrained. He had once been observed using some familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour so unbecoming a covenanted monarch. The spokesman of the committee, one Douglas, began with a severe aspect, informed the king that great scandal had been given to the godly, enlarged on the heinous nature of sin, and concluded with exhorting his majesty, whenever he was disposed to amuse himself, to be more careful, for the future, in shutting the windows. This delicacy, so unusual to the place, and to the character of the man, was remarked by the king, and he never forgot the obligation.

The king shocked at all the indignities, and perhaps still more tired with all the formalities, to which he was

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obliged to submit, made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, being proscribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting some opportunity of serving his master. The king resolved to join this body. He secretly made his escape from Argyle, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. He overtook the king, and persuaded him to return. The royalists being too weak to support him, Charles was the more easily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority, the covenanters being afraid of driving him by their rigours to some desperate resolution. Argyle renewed his courtship to the king, and the king, with equal dissimulation, pretended to repose great confidence in Argyle. He even went so far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that nobleman's daughter; but he had to do with a man too wise to be seduced by such gross artifices.

As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley, and the king was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the western counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger which threatened their country, were resolute not to unite their cause with that of an army which admitted any engagers or malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themselves the *protesters;* and their frantic clergy declaimed equally against the king and against Cromwell. The other party were denominated *resolutioners;* and these distinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

Charles encamped at the Torwood; and his generals resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Strong intrenchments defended his front, and it was in vain that Cromwell made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After losing much time, the English general sent Lambert over the frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the pro-

visions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put them to rout with great slaughter. Cromwell also passed over with his whole army, and lying at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post any longer.

Charles, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he resolved immediately to march into England, where he expected that all his friends, and all those who were discontented with the present government, would flock to his standard. He persuaded the generals to enter into the same views, and with one consent the army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journeys towards the south.

Cromwell was surprised at this movement of the royal army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had exposed his friends to imminent danger, and saw the king with numerous forces marching into England, where his presence, from the general hatred which prevailed against the Parliament, was capable of producing some great revolution. But if this conduct was an oversight in Cromwell, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He despatched letters to the Parliament, exhorting them not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots; he sent orders every where for assembling forces to oppose the king; he ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infest their march; and he himself, leaving Monk with seven thousand men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the expedition possible.

Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great numbers. The English presbyterians, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. To the royalists, this measure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scottish army, by the orders which the committee of ministers had issued, not to admit any, even in this des-

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perate extremity, who would not subscribe the covenant. The Earl of Derby leaving the Isle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independence, was employed in levying forces in Cheshire and Lancashire, but was soon suppressed by a party of the parliamentary army: and the king, when he arrived at Worcester, found that his forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp in the Torwood.

Such is the influence of established government, that the commonwealth, though founded in usurpation the most unjust and unpopular, had authority sufficient to raise every where the militia of the counties; and these, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts against the king. With an army of about thirty thousand men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester, and attacking it on all sides, and meeting with little resistance, except from Duke Hamilton and General Middleton, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strewed with dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Massey wounded and taken prisoner; the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

3d Sept.

Battle of Worcester.

The king's escape.

The king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions, and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the Earl of Derby's directions he went to Boscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having

clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king, and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *royal oak*, and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

Charles was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fear, hopes, and party zeal, interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indiscretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined Lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been so faithful to him. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ship, in which he might transport himself. He had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a pass (for during those times of confusion this precaution was requisite) for his sister, Jane Lane, and a servant, to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending her relation. The king rode before the lady, and personated the servant.

When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended that she had brought along, as her servant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son, who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, soon knew him. The

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king was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ship, it was found, would for a month set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain; and the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He entrusted himself to Colonel Windham, of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partisan of the royal family. The natural effect of the long civil wars, and of the furious rage to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and even the courage and fidelity of most men; by the variety of incidents, had been put to trial. The royalists, too, had, many of them, been obliged to make concealments in their houses for themselves, their friends, or more valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been frequently practised. All these circumstances proved favourable to the king in the present exigency. As he often passed through the hands of Catholics, the *priest's hole*, as they called it, the place where they were obliged to conceal their persecuted priests, was sometimes employed for sheltering their distressed sovereign.

Windham, before he received the king, asked leave to entrust the important secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could rely. Of all these, no one proved wanting either in honour or discretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandchild in defence of his father, she was now reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of himself. Windham told the king, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons: "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last sovereigns, but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But, whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown, though it should hang

upon a bush." "These last words," added Windham, "made such impressions on all our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible characters." From innumerable instances it appears, how deep-rooted in the minds of the English gentry of that age was the principle of loyalty to their sovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more enlightened affection towards a legal constitution. But during those times of military usurpation, these passions were the same.

The king continued several days in Windham's house; and all his friends in Britain, and in every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspense with regard to his fortunes. No one could conjecture whether he were dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant search of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape, but he still met with disappointments. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures, assumed different disguises, in every step was exposed to imminent perils, and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, and not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him, and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He had been known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After one and forty days' concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his concealment and escape [x].

The battle of Worcester afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy* [y]. So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted, in the field, two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood, but was dissuaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook submission to the empty name of a republic, which stood

[x] Heathe's Chronicle, p. 301.

[y] Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 47.

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chiefly by his influence, and was supported by his victories. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only assured that he now discovered to his intimate friends these aspiring views, and even expressed a desire of assuming the rank of king, which he had contributed, with such seeming zeal, to abolish [z].

The commonwealth.

The little popularity and credit acquired by the republicans farther stimulated the ambition of this enterprising politician. These men had not that large thought, nor those comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators: selfish aims and bigotry chiefly engrossed their attention. They carried their rigid austerity so far as to enact a law, declaring fornication, after the first act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy [a]. They made small progress in that important work which they professed to have so much at heart, the settling of a new model of representation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend that they intended to establish themselves as a perpetual legislature, and to confine the whole power to sixty or seventy persons, who called themselves the Parliament of the commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to bestow new liberties upon the nation, they found themselves obliged to infringe even the most valuable of those which, through time immemorial, had been transmitted from their ancestors. Not daring to entrust the trials of treason to juries, who, being chosen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the ancient laws, they eluded that noble institution, by which the government of this island has ever been so much distinguished. They had evidently seen in the trial of Lilburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the most turbulent, but the most upright and courageous, of human kind, was tried for a transgression of the new statute of treasons; but though he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted, to the great joy of the people. Westminster-hall, nay the whole city,

[z] Whitlocke, p. 523.

[a] Scobel, p. 121. A bill was introduced into the House against painting, patches, and other immodest dress of women; but it did not pass. Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 263.

rang with shouts and acclamations. Never did any established power receive so strong a declaration of its usurpation and invalidity; and from no institution, besides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

That they might not for the future be exposed to affronts which so much lessened their authority, the Parliament erected a high court of justice, which was to receive indictments from the council of state. This court was composed of men devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to sacrifice every thing to their own safety or ambition. Colonel Eusebius Andrews and Colonel Walter Slingsby were tried by this court for conspiracies, and condemned to death. They were royalists, and refused to plead before so illegal a jurisdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other presbyterians, having entered into a plot against the republic, were also tried, condemned, and executed. The Earl of Derby, Sir Timothy Featherstone, Bemboe, being taken prisoners after the battle of Worcester, were put to death by sentence of a court-martial; a method of proceeding declared illegal by that very petition of right, for which a former Parliament had so strenuously contended, and which, after great efforts, they had extorted from the king.

Excepting their principles of toleration, the maxims by which the republicans regulated ecclesiastical affairs no more prognosticated any durable settlement, than those by which they conducted their civil concerns. The presbyterian model of congregation, classes, and assemblies, was not allowed to be finished: it seemed even the intention of many leaders in the Parliament to admit of no established church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magistrate, to embrace whatever sect, and to support whatever clergy, were most agreeable to him.

The Parliament went so far as to make some approaches, in one province, to their independent model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with small salaries were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these being furnished with horses at the public expense, hurried from

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place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel [b]. They were all of them men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades, in order to follow this new profession; and in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

The republicans, both by the turn of their disposition, and by the nature of the instruments which they employed, were better qualified for acts of force and vigour, than for the slow and deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views, among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impositions, though much superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality moderate, and what a nation so opulent could easily bear. The military genius of the people had, by the civil contests, been roused from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them; and while so great a power was lodged in such active hands, no wonder the republic was successful in all its enterprises.

Blake, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height

[b] Dr. John Walker's Attempt, p. 147, et seq.

than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, and he received orders to pursue Prince Rupert, to whom the king had entrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued and chased him into the Tagus, where he intended to make an attack upon him. But the King of Portugal, moved by the favour which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided Prince Rupert in making his escape. To be revenged of this partiality, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden: and he threatened still farther vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly-acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions to the haughty republic, and was at last admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, made sail towards the West Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there shipwrecked in a hurricane. Every where this squadron subsisted by privateering, sometimes on English, sometimes on Spanish vessels. And Rupert at last returned to France, where he disposed of the remnants of his fleet, together with his prizes.

All the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayscue was sent with a squadron to reduce them. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia, were soon subdued. Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made some resistance, but was at last obliged to submit.

With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to the English commerce. The Countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man, and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illustrious house of Trimoille, in France,

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had during the civil war displayed a manly courage, by her obstinate defence of Latham house against the parliamentary forces; and she retained the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious commonwealth[c].

Ireland and Scotland were now entirely subjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, at the head of a numerous army, thirty thousand strong, prosecuted the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, though of themselves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cause. He punished without mercy all the prisoners who had any hand in the massacres. Sir Phelim O'Neale, among the rest, was, some time after, brought to the gibbet, and suffered an ignominious death, which he had so well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limerick, a considerable town, still remained in the hands of the Irish; and Ireton, after a vigorous siege, made himself master of it. He was here infected with the plague, and shortly after died; a memorable personage, much celebrated for his vigilance, industry, capacity, even for the strict execution of justice in that unlimited command which he possessed in Ireland. He was observed to be inflexible in all his purposes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a sincere and passionate love of liberty, and never could have been induced by any motive to submit to the smallest appearance of regal government. Cromwell appeared to be much affected by his death; and the republicans, who reposed great confidence in him, were inconsolable. To show their regard for his merit and services, they bestowed an estate of two thousand pounds a year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Though the established government was but the mere shadow of a commonwealth, yet was it beginning, by proper arts, to encourage that public spirit which no other species of civil polity is ever able fully to inspire.

The command of the army in Ireland devolved on Lieutenant-General Ludlow. The civil government of

[c] See note [Q], at the end of the volume.

the island was entrusted to commissioners. Ludlow continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained an easy victory. That unhappy people, disgusted with the king on account of those violent declarations against them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scots, applied to the King of Spain, to the Duke of Lorraine, and found assistance no where. Clanricarde, unable to resist the prevailing power, made submissions to the Parliament, and retired into England, where he soon after died. He was a steady Catholic, but a man much respected by all parties.

The successes which attended Monk in Scotland were no less decisive. That able general laid siege to Stirling-castle; and, though it was well provided for defence, it was soon surrendered to him. He there became master of all the records of the kingdom; and he sent them to England. The Earl of Leven, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert measures for raising a new army, were suddenly set upon by Colonel Alured, and most of them taken prisoners. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprise, met with a like fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, supplied with a good garrison under Lumisden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate, and money of the kingdom, which had been sent thither as to a place of safety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach, gave a general assault. He carried the town; and following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, Inverness, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his submissions to the English commonwealth; and excepting a few royalists, who remained some time in the mountains, under the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Balcarras, and General Middleton, that kingdom, which had hitherto, through all ages, by means of its situation, poverty, and valour, maintained its independence, was reduced to total subjection.

The English Parliament sent Sir Harry Vane, St.

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John, and other commissioners, to settle Scotland. These men, who possessed little of the true spirit of liberty, knew how to maintain the appearance of it; and they required the voluntary consent of all the counties and towns of this conquered kingdom, before they would unite them into the same commonwealth with England. The clergy protested; because, they said, this incorporating union would draw along with it a subordination of the church to the state in the things of Christ[d]. English judges, joined to some Scottish, were appointed to determine all causes; justice was strictly administered; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with the present government[e]. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who possessed a capacity for the arts both of peace and war, served much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

1652. Dutch war.

By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the Parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms.

During the life of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interposed, except by her good offices, between the contending parties. When William, who had married an English princess, succeeded to his father's commands and authority[f], the states, both before and after the execution of the late king, were accused of taking steps more favourable to the royal cause, and of betraying a great prejudice against that of the Parliament. It was long before the envoy of the English commonwealth could obtain an audience of the states-general. The murderers of Dorislaus were not pursued with such rigour as the Parliament expected. And much regard had been paid to the king, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public, and by men of all ranks in the United Provinces.

After the death of William, Prince of Orange[g], which was attended with the depression of his party and the

[d] Whitlocke, p. 496. Heathe's Chronicle, p. 307.
[e] See note [R], at the end of the volume.
[f] 1647.
[g] On October 17, 1650.

triumph of the Dutch republicans, the Parliament thought that the time was now favourable for cementing a closer confederacy with the states. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics, which would have rendered their interests totally inseparable; but fearing that so extraordinary a project would not be relished, he contented himself with dropping some hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propose a strict defensive alliance between England and the United Provinces, such as has now, for near seventy years, taken place between these friendly powers[h]. But the states, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed so precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England; and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts which had been offered him, with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to foment a quarrel between the republics.

The movements of great states are often directed by as slender springs as those of individuals. Though war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might seem dangerous to the yet unsettled commonwealth, there were several motives which at this time induced the English Parliament to embrace hostile measures. Many of the members thought that a foreign war would serve as a pretence for continuing the same Parliament, and delaying the new model of a representative, with which the nation had so long been flattered. Others hoped that the war would furnish a reason for maintaining some time longer that numerous standing army which was so much complained of[i]. On the other hand, some who dreaded the increasing power of Cromwell, expected that the great expense of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminishing the military establish-

[h] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 182.

[i] We are told in the Life of Sir Harry Vane, that that famous republican opposed the Dutch war, and that it was the military gentlemen chiefly who supported that measure.

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ment. To divert the attention of the public from domestic quarrels towards foreign transactions, seemed, in the present disposition of men's minds, to be good policy. The superior power of the English commonwealth, together with its advantages of situation, promised success; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to distress and sink their flourishing commerce, and by victories to throw a lustre on their own establishment, which was so new and unpopular. All these views, enforced by the violent spirit of St. John, who had great influence over Cromwell, determined the Parliament to change the purposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces.

To cover these hostile intentions, the Parliament, under pretence of providing for the interests of commerce, embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the states. They framed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms in which it was conceived were general, the Dutch were principally affected; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsist chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries which, they pretended, they had received from the states; and above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands, and were made prizes. The cruelties committed on the English at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which seemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years' silence, were again made the ground of complaint; and the allowing the murderers of Dorislaus to escape, and the conniving at the insults to which St. John had been exposed, were represented as symptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hostile, disposition in the states.

The states, alarmed at all these steps, sent orders to their ambassadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of

state of that armament. This intelligence, instead of striking terror into the English republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the Parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men in both states were every day more irritated against each other; and it was not long before these humours broke forth into action.

Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the states the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine; since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended that, having given a signal to the Dutch admiral to strike, Tromp, instead of complying, fired a broadside at him. Tromp asserted that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral, nevertheless, began hostilities. It is certain that the admiralty of Holland, who are distinct from the council of state, had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion with regard to that vain but much contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect paid the English flag as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumstance forms a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, were desirous of a war with England.

Blake, though his squadron consisted only of fifteen vessels, reinforced, after the battle began, by eight under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the

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Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them.

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When the states heard of this action, of which the consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. They immediately despatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the Parliament the narrative which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity; and they pretended that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found, upon inquiry, that he had been guilty of an action which they so much disapproved. The imperious Parliament would hearken to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated by the numerous successes which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly seized the opportunity which they sought, of making war upon the states. They demanded that, without any farther delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained; and when this demand was not complied with, they despatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

Blake sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them. Blake took shelter in the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was dispersed, and received great damage.

Aug. 16.

Sir George Ayscue, though he commanded only forty ships, according to the English accounts, engaged, near Plymouth, the famous De Ruiter, who had under him fifty ships of war, with thirty merchantmen. The Dutch ships were indeed of inferior force to the English. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe who has attained a

renown equal to that of the greatest general, defended himself so well, that Ayscue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruiter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight, that it was not able to pursue. CHAP. LX. 1652.

Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch squadron nearly equal in numbers, commanded by De Witte and De Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail towards Holland. Oct. 28.

The English were not so successful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen, with much superior force, attacked Captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loss of his life.

Sea-fights are seldom so decisive as to disable the vanquished from making head in a little time against the victors. Tromp, seconded by De Ruiter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who resolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted great bravery. In this action the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himself was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ships were burned, and one sunk: and night came opportunely to save the English fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-mast, as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels. Nov. 29.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland, they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels sailing up the channel, along with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the Isle of Rhé till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Tromp, and under him De Ruiter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had 1653. Feb. 18.

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yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant-ships except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had two thousand men slain, and near one thousand five hundred taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

All these successes of the English were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels, an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an imposition which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late king had put the navy into a situation which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ships of a size which was then unusual. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle were small in comparison of those which their trade sustained from the English. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much infested by English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. A great number of their ships, above one thousand six hundred, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. And all this distress they suffered, not for any national interests or necessity, but from vain points of honour and personal resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the public. They resolved, therefore, to gratify the pride of the Parliament, and to make some advances towards peace. They met not, however, with a favourable reception; and it was not without pleasure that they learned the dissolution of that haughty assembly by the violence of Cromwell, an event from which they expected a more prosperous turn to their affairs.

Dissolution of the Parliament.

The zealous republicans in the Parliament had not been the chief or first promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every possible advantage. On all occasions they set up the fleet in opposition to the army, and celebrated the

glory and successes of their naval armaments. They insisted on the intolerable expense to which the nation was subjected, and urged the necessity of diminishing it, by a reduction of the land forces. They had ordered some regiments to serve on board the fleet in the quality of marines. And Cromwell, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently saw that they had entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination under their authority. Without scruple or delay he resolved to prevent them.

On such firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that though a great master of fraud and dissimulation, he judged it superfluous to employ any disguise in conducting this bold enterprise. He summoned a general council of officers, and immediately found that they were disposed to receive whatever impressions he was pleased to give them. Most of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made between the military and civil powers, when the late king was seized at Holdenby, the general officers regarded the Parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought that they themselves were entitled to share among them those offices and riches, of which its members had so long kept possession. Harrison, Rich, Overton, and a few others who retained some principle, were guided by notions so extravagant, that they were easily deluded into measures the most violent and most criminal; and the whole army had already been guilty of such illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no farther scruple with regard to any enterprise which might serve their selfish or fanatical purposes.

In the council of officers it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the Parliament. After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they there desired the Parliament to reflect how many years they had sitten, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the representative, and establish successive Parliaments, who might bear the burden of national affairs, from which they themselves would gladly, after so much danger and fatigue, be at

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last relieved. They confessed that the Parliament had achieved great enterprises, and had surmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they said, to the rest of the nation, to be excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore desired them, after settling a council who might execute the laws during the interval, to summon a new Parliament, and establish that free and equal government which they had so long promised to the people.

The Parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and opposition the breach became still wider between

April 10.

the army and the commonwealth. Cromwell, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settlement. As he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrison having assured the council that the general sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, Major Streater briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly; for if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, Colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell that the Parliament was sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the House by new elections, and was at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwell, in a rage, immediately hastened to the House, and carried a body of three hundred soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him: but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Harrison, and told him, that he now judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and

dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider, before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the Parliament, "get you gone; give place to honester men, to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a Parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament. The Lord has done with you: he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton." "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the House, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

In this furious manner, which so well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwell, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution. All parties now reaped successively the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries which they had suffered revenged on their enemies, and that too by the same arts which had been practised against them. The king had, in some instances, stretched his prerogative beyond its just bounds; and,

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aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited by cant and hypocrisy the populace, first to tumults, then to war, against the king, the peers, and all the royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independents, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The independents, amidst their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all ancient, example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.

CHAPTER LXI.

Cromwell's Birth and Private Life.—Barebone's Parliament.—Cromwell made Protector.—Peace with Holland.—A new Parliament.—Insurrection of the Royalists.—State of Europe.—War with Spain.—Jamaica conquered.—Success and Death of Admiral Blake.—Domestic Administration of Cromwell.—Humble Petition and Advice.—Dunkirk taken.—Sickness of the Protector.—His Death and Character.

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1653. Cromwell's birth and private life.

Oliver Cromwell, in whose hands the dissolution of the Parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the last year of the former century, of a good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate from his father. In the course of his education he had been sent to the university, but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and he made small proficiencies in his studies. He even threw himself into a dissolute and disorderly course of life; and he consumed in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the more early years of his youth, and dissipated part of his patrimony. All of a sudden the spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a grave and composed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained by gaming. The same vehemence of temper which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure now distinguished his religious habits. His house was the resort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hospitality, as well as his liberalities to the silenced and deprived ministers, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Though he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so injured by his expenses, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself for some years to agriculture as a profession. But this expedient served rather to involve him in farther debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he said to his family in the morning, and again in

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the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs. His active mind, superior to the low occupations to which he was condemned, preyed upon itself; and he indulged his imagination in visions, illuminations, revelations, the great nourishment of that hypochondriacal temper to which he was ever subject. Urged by his wants and his piety, he had made a party with Hambden, his near kinsman, who was pressed only by the latter motive, to transport himself into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical party; and it was an order of council which obliged them to disembark and remain in England. The Earl of Bedford, who possessed a large estate in the Fen country, near the Isle of Ely, having undertaken to drain these morasses, was obliged to apply to the king; and by the powers of the prerogative he got commissioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new acquired land among the several proprietors. He met with opposition from many, among whom Cromwell distinguished himself; and this was the first public opportunity which he had met with of discovering the factious zeal and obstinacy of his character.

From accident and intrigue he was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the Long Parliament. His domestic affairs were then in great disorder; and he seemed not to possess any talents which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere into which he was now at last entered. His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untuneable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. The fervour of his spirit frequently prompted him to rise in the House, but he was not heard with attention; his name, for above two years, is not to be found oftener than twice in any committee; and those committees into which he was admitted were chosen for affairs which would more interest the zealots than the men of business. In comparison of the eloquent speakers and fine gentlemen of the House he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold that, if a civil war should ensue, he would soon rise to eminence and distinction.

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Cromwell himself seems to have been conscious where his strength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontrollable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party which pushed every thing to extremities against the king. He was active in promoting the famous remonstrance, which was the signal for all the ensuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a small majority, he told Lord Falkland that, if the question had been lost, he was resolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this resolution, he said, peculiar to himself; many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

He was no less than forty-three years of age when he first embraced the military profession; and, by force of genius, without any master, he soon became an excellent officer, though perhaps he never reached the fame of a consummate commander. He raised a troop of horse, fixed his quarters in Cambridge, exerted great severity towards that university, which zealously adhered to the royal party, and showed himself a man who would go all lengths in favour of that cause which he had espoused. He would not allow his soldiers to perplex their heads with those subtleties of fighting by the king's authority against his person, and of obeying his majesty's commands signified by both Houses of Parliament: he plainly told them that, if he met the king in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face as readily as against any other man. His troop of horse he soon augmented to a regiment; and he first instituted that discipline and inspired that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies in the end victorious. "Your troops," said he to Hambden, according to his own account[a], "are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; the king's forces are composed of gentlemen's younger sons and persons of good quality. And do you think that the mean spirits of such base and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit, and take it not ill that I say, of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go,

[a] Conference held at Whitehall.

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or else I am sure you will still be beaten, as you have hitherto been in every encounter." He did as he proposed. He enlisted the sons of freeholders and farmers. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics throughout England. When they were collected in a body, their enthusiastic spirit still rose to a higher pitch. Their colonel, from his own natural character, as well as from policy, was sufficiently inclined to increase the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded. The wild enthusiasm, together with valour and discipline, still propagated itself; and all men cast their eyes on so pious and so successful a leader. From low commands he rose with great rapidity to be really the first, though in appearance only the second in the army. By fraud and violence he soon rendered himself the first in the state. In proportion to the increase of his authority his talents always seemed to expand themselves; and he displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergence by which they were called forth into action. All Europe stood astonished to see a nation so turbulent and unruly, who, for some doubtful encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent prince, descended from a long line of monarchs, now at last subdued and reduced to slavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whose name was not known in the nation, and who was little regarded even in that low sphere to which he had always been confined.

The indignation entertained by the people against an authority founded on such manifest usurpation was not so violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addresses, the first of the kind, were made to Cromwell by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England, but especially by the several congregations of saints dispersed throughout the kingdom[b]. The royalists, though they could not love the man who had imbrued his hands in the blood of their sovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the jealous and imperious republicans who had hitherto governed. The presbyterians were pleased

[b] See Milton's State Papers.

to see those men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outwitted by their own servant; and they applauded him for this last act of violence upon the Parliament. These two parties composed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in some tolerable temper. All men, likewise, harassed with wars and factions, were glad to see any prospect of settlement; and they deemed it less ignominious to submit to a person of such admirable talents and capacity, than to a few ignoble enthusiastic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel subjection.

The republicans, being dethroned by Cromwell, were the party whose resentment he had the greatest reason to apprehend. That party, besides the independents, contained two sets of men, who are seemingly of the most opposite principles, but who were then united by a similitude of genius and of character. The first and most numerous were the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, who insisted that, dominion being founded in grace, all distinction in magistracy must be abolished, except what arose from piety and holiness; who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ upon earth; and who pretended that the saints in the mean while, that is, themselves, were alone entitled to govern. The second were the deists, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and insinuated that all the various sects, so heated against each other, were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of such daring geniuses were not contented with the ancient and legal forms of civil government, but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were esteemed the heads of this small division.

The deists were perfectly hated by Cromwell, because he had no hold of enthusiasm by which he could govern or overreach them; he therefore treated them with great rigour and disdain, and usually denominated them the *heathens*. As the millenarians had a great interest in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their size of understanding afforded

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him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years it had been so usual a topic of conversation to discourse of Parliaments and councils and senates, and the soldiers themselves had been so much accustomed to enter into that spirit, that Cromwell thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a commonwealth. He supposed that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right, as well as power, of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summons to a hundred and twenty-eight persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. He pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months, and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons, who might succeed them in that high and important office.

Barebone's Parliament.

There were great numbers at that time who made it a principle always to adhere to any power which was uppermost, and to support the established government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be esteemed peculiar to them is, that there prevailed a hypocritical phrase for expressing so prudential a conduct: it was called a waiting upon Providence. When Providence, therefore, was so kind as to bestow on these men, now assembled together, the supreme authority, they must have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaisance towards her. They immediately voted themselves a Parliament; and having their own consent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwell, for their legislative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exercise of it.

4th July.

In this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greater part were low mechanics; fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with seeking God by prayer. This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the assembly; and with so much success that, according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devotional exercises, enjoyed so much of the Holy Spirit as

was then communicated to them [c]. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they considered the high dignity to which they supposed themselves exalted. They had been told by Cromwell, in his first discourse, that he never looked to see such a day, when Christ should be so owned [d]. They thought it, therefore, their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work, which it was expected the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being consecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the ecclesiastics, who claim a peculiar sanctity, derived merely from their office and priestly character. This Parliament took into consideration the abolition of the clerical function, as savouring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relic of Judaism. Learning, also, and the universities, were deemed heathenish and unnecessary; the common law was denominated a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery [e], the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Mosaical law was intended to be established as the sole system of English jurisprudence [f].

Of all the extraordinary schemes adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone, without the interpo-

[c] Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 182.

[d] These are his expressions: "Indeed I have but one word more to say to you, though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it is by way of encouragement to you in this work; give me leave to begin thus; I confess I never looked to have seen such a day as this, it may be nor you neither, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as he is at this day and in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by your call, and you own him by your willingness to appear for him, and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can do) to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you will remember that scripture, *he makes his people willing in the day of his power*. God manifests it to be the day of the power of Christ, having through so much blood and so much trial as has been upon this nation, he makes this one of the greatest mercies, next to his own Son, to have his people called to the supreme authority. God hath owned his Son, and hath owned you, and hath made you to own him. I confess, I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not." I suppose at this passage he cried, for he was very much given to weeping, and could at any time shed abundance of tears. The rest of the speech may be seen among Milton's State Papers, p. 106. It is very curious, and full of the same obscurity, confusion, embarrassment, and absurdity, which appear in almost all Oliver's productions.

[e] Whitlocke, p. 543. 548.

[f] Conference held at Whitehall.

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sition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the House, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London; his name, *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barebone's Parliament[g].

The Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negotiation with this Parliament; but though Protestants, and even presbyterians, they met with a bad reception from those who pretended to a sanctity so much superior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and industry, whom it was fitting the saints should first extirpate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themselves destined by Providence, of subduing Antichrist, the man of sin, and extending to the uttermost bounds of the earth, the kingdom of the Redeemer[h]. The ambassadors finding themselves proscribed, not as enemies of England, but of Christ, remained in astonishment, and knew not which was most to be admired, the implacable spirit or egregious folly of these pretended saints.

[g] It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly: even the New Testament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in such regard as those which were borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habakkuk, Joshua, Zerubbabel. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury, said to be enclosed in the county of Sussex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurst.
Standfast on High, Stringer of Cowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East Halley.
Hope for, Bending of the same.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the same.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Brome's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwell," says Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praise-God Barebone had for name, *If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned, Barebone*. But the people, tired of this long name, retained only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damned Barebone*.

[h] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273. 591. Also Stubbe, p. 91, 92.

Cromwell began to be ashamed of his legislature. If he ever had any design in summoning so preposterous an assembly, beyond amusing the populace and the army, he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had so far succeeded as to make them desire any other government, which might secure their professions, now brought into danger by these desperate fanatics. Cromwell himself was dissatisfied that the Parliament, though they had derived all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord[i], and to insist already on their divine commission. He had been careful to summon in his writs several persons entirely devoted to him. By concert, these met early; and it was mentioned by some among them, that the sitting of this Parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They hastened, therefore, to Cromwell, along with Rouse, 12th Dec. their speaker; and by a formal deed, or assignment, restored into his hands that supreme authority which they had so lately received from him. General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the House; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were soon interrupted by Colonel White with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he; "for to my certain knowledge he has not been here these many years."

The military being now in appearance, as well as in reality, the sole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwell thought fit to indulge in a new fancy: for he seems not to have had any deliberate plan in all these alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obsequiousness to him, indulged in unbounded ambition, proposed in a council of officers to adopt another scheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be known by the appellation of protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called *the instrument of government*, containing the plan of this new legislature; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general, it

Cromwell made protector.

[i] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393.

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was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwell was declared protector, and with great solemnity installed in that high office.

So little were these men endowed with the spirit of legislation, that they confessed, or rather boasted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this instrument, by which the whole government of three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjusted to all succeeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them, when it is considered how crude and undigested a system of civil polity they endeavoured to establish. The chief articles of the instrument are these: a council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen, persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed supreme magistrate of the commonwealth; in his name was all justice to be administered; from him were all magistracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treason; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, rested in him; but in these particulars he was to act by the advice and with the consent of his council. The power of the sword was vested in the protector jointly with the Parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a Parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were to be presented to the protector for his assent; but if within twenty days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of Parliament. A standing army for Great Britain and Ireland was established, of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse; and funds were assigned for their support. These were not to be diminished without the consent of the protector, and in this article alone he assumed a negative. During the intervals of Parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of Parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief

governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both the benches, must be chosen with the approbation of Parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by Parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life, and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. This was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and solemnly sworn to by Oliver Cromwell. The council of state, named by the instrument, were fifteen men entirely devoted to the protector, and, by reason of the opposition among themselves in party and principles, not likely ever to combine against him.

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Cromwell said that he accepted the dignity of protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a constable, and preserve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that pass by the furious animosities of the several factions, that the extensive authority, and even arbitrary power, of some first magistrate was become a necessary evil, in order to keep the people from relapsing into blood and confusion. The independents were too small a party ever to establish a popular government, or entrust the nation, where they had so little interest, with the free choice of its representatives. The presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of persecution, incompatible at all times with the peace of society, much more with the wild zeal of those numerous sects which prevailed among the people. The royalists were so much enraged by the injuries which they had suffered, that the other prevailing parties would never submit to them, who, they knew, were enabled, merely by the execution of the ancient laws, to take severe vengeance upon them. Had Cromwell been guilty of no crime but this temporary usurpation, the plea of necessity and public good, which he alleged, might be allowed, in every view, a reasonable excuse for his conduct.

During the variety of ridiculous and distracted scenes, which the civil government exhibited in England, the military force was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The English fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, and commanded by Monk

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1653. and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lawson, met, near the coast of Flanders, with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, and commanded by Tromp. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and their interests very little interfered; yet few battles have been disputed with more fierce and obstinate courage than were those many naval combats which were fought during this short but violent war. The desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean, animated these states to an honourable emulation against each other. After a battle of two days, in the first of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the size of their ships, were obliged, with great loss, to retire into their harbours. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his countrymen with eighteen sail. The English fleet lay off the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic.

The ambassadors whom the Dutch had sent over to England gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no cessation of hostilities, the states, unwilling to suffer any longer the loss and dishonour of being blockaded by the enemy, made the utmost efforts to recover their injured honour. Never on any occasion did the power and vigour of that republic appear in a more conspicuous light. In a few weeks they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped some ships of a larger size than any which they had hitherto sent to sea. Tromp issued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the contest. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk, and both sides immediately rushed into the combat. Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musket ball. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the English. Though near thirty ships of the Dutch were sunk and taken, they little regarded this loss compared with that of their brave admiral.

July 29.

Meanwhile the negotiations for peace were continually advancing. The states, overwhelmed with the expense of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experi-

ence, too powerful for them. The king having shown an inclination to serve on board their fleet, though they expressed their sense of the honour intended them, they declined an offer which might inflame the quarrel with the English commonwealth. The great obstacle to the peace was found, not to be any animosity on the part of the English, but, on the contrary, a desire, too earnest, of union and confederacy. Cromwell had revived the chimerical scheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, interests, and counsels. This project appeared so wild to the states, that they wondered any man of sense could ever entertain it; and they refused to enter into conferences with regard to a proposal, which could serve only to delay any practicable scheme of accommodation. The peace was at last signed by Cromwell, now invested with the dignity of protector; and it proves sufficiently that the war had been impolitic, since, after the most signal victories, no terms more advantageous could be obtained. A defensive league was made between the two republics. They agreed each of them to banish the enemies of the other; those who had been concerned in the massacre of Amboyna were to be punished, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the English; eighty-five thousand pounds were stipulated to be paid by the Dutch East India Company for losses which the English Company had sustained; and the island of Polerone in the East Indies was promised to be ceded to the latter.

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Cromwell, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, insisted on a separate article, that neither the young prince nor any of his family should ever be invested with the dignity of stadtholder. The province of Holland, strongly prejudiced against that office, which they esteemed dangerous to liberty, secretly ratified this article. The protector, knowing that the other provinces would not be induced to make such a concession, was satisfied with this security.

The Dutch war being successful, and the peace reasonable, brought credit to Cromwell's administration. An act of justice, which he exercised at home, gave

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likewise satisfaction to the people; though the regularity of it may, perhaps, appear somewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission [k], fancying himself to be insulted, came upon the exchange, armed and attended by several servants. By mistake, he fell on a gentleman whom he took for the person that had given him the offence; and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his attendants took shelter in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, who had connived at this base enterprise [l]. The populace surrounded the house, and threatened to set fire to it. Cromwell sent a guard, who seized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: and notwithstanding the opposition of the ambassador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: but the crime committed by the Portuguese gentleman was, to the last degree, atrocious; and the vigorous chastisement of it, suiting so well to the undaunted character of Cromwell, was universally approved of at home, and admired among foreign nations. The situation of Portugal obliged that court to acquiesce; and the ambassador soon after signed with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce.

Another act of severity, but necessary in his situation, was at the very same time exercised by the protector, in the capital punishment of Gerard and Vowel, two royalists, who were accused of conspiring against his life. He had erected a high court of justice for their trial; an infringement of the ancient laws, which at this time was become familiar, but one to which no custom or precedent could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The restless Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been devised during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were assured of entire impunity.

3d of Sept. A new Parliament.

The protector had occasion to observe the prejudices entertained against his government by the disposition of

[k] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 429.

[l] Ibid. vol. i. p. 616.

the Parliament, which he summoned on the third of September, that day of the year on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It must be confessed that, if we are left to gather Cromwell's intentions from his instrument of government, it is such a motley piece, that we cannot easily conjecture whether he seriously meant to establish a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a first magistrate, in so extensive a government, seemed necessary both for the dignity and tranquillity of the state; and the authority which he assumed as protector, was, in some respects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws entrusted and still entrust to the king. On the other hand, the legislative power which he reserved to himself and council, together with so great an army, independent of the Parliament, were bad prognostics of his intention to submit to a civil and legal constitution. But if this were not his intention, the method in which he distributed and conducted the elections, being so favourable to liberty, forms an inconsistency which is not easily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the small boroughs, places the most exposed to influence and corruption. Of four hundred members, which represented England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties. The rest were elected by London, and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: an estate of two hundred pounds value was necessary to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this Parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and excepting that such of the royalists as had borne arms against the Parliament and all their sons were excluded, a more fair representation of the people could not be desired or expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

The protector seems to have been disappointed, when he found that all these precautions, which were probably nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Though Cromwell's administration was less odious to every party, than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to

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none. The royalists had been instructed by the king to remain quiet, and to cover themselves under the appearance of republicans; and they found in this latter faction such inveterate hatred against the protector, that they could not wish for more zealous adversaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and a popular election was but a new artifice of this great deceiver, in order to lay asleep the deluded nation, and give himself leisure to rivet their chains more securely upon them: that in the instrument of government he openly declared his intention of still retaining the same mercenary army, by whose assistance he had subdued the ancient established government, and who would with less scruple obey him in overturning, whenever he should please to order them, that new system, which he himself had been pleased to model: that being sensible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to intermix some appearance, and but an appearance, of civil administration, and to balance the army by a seeming consent of the people. That the absurd trial, which he had made, of a Parliament elected by himself, appointed perpetually to elect their successors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averse to a free republican government, and possessed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legislator: that his imperious character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, could never seriously submit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure: and that the best policy was to oblige him to take off the mask at once; and either submit entirely to that Parliament which he had summoned, or, by totally rejecting its authority, leave himself no resource but in his seditious and enthusiastic army.

In prosecution of these views, the Parliament, having heard the protector's speech, three hours long[m], and having chosen Lenthal for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell,

[m] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 588.

by the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwell escaped not without censure. The utmost that could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for so they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long speeches, and prevent the decision of a question, which, they were sensible, would be carried against them by a great majority. The protector, surprised and enraged at this refractory spirit in the Parliament, which however he had so much reason to expect, sent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title; since the same instrument of government which made them a Parliament, had invested him with the protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or disputed; that among these were the government of the nation by a single person and a Parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new Parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that, with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumstances of government, he confessed himself nowise entitled.

The protector now found the necessity of exacting a security which, had he foreseen the spirit of the House, he would with better grace have required at their first meeting [n]. He obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a Parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the House, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retained the same refractory spirit which they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy: very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of

[n] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 620.

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1654. the House: and during the whole course of their proceedings, they neither sent up one bill to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some malecontent officers, he hastened to the dissolution

1655. 22d Jan. of so dangerous an assembly. By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no Parliament could be dissolved till it had sitten five months; but Cromwell pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practised in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapsed, the Parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confused, angry harangue, and dismissed them. Were we to judge of Cromwell's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compositions, we should be apt to entertain no very favourable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuses, there are some which, though they see their object clearly and distinctly in general, yet, when they come to unfold its parts by discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception which they had before attained. All accounts agree in ascribing to Cromwell a tiresome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to disguise his meaning: yet no man's actions were ever, in such a variety of difficult incidents, more decisive and judicious.

The electing of a discontented Parliament is a proof of a discontented nation: the angry and abrupt dissolution of that Parliament is always sure to increase the general discontent. The members of this assembly, returning to their counties, propagated that spirit of mutiny which they had exerted in the House. Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the Long Parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the present usurpation; though they acted so cautiously as to give the protector no handle against them. Wildman and some others of that party carried still farther their conspiracies against the protector's authority. The royalists, observing this general ill-will towards the establishment, could no longer be retained in subjection; but fancied that every one who was dissatisfied like them, had also embraced the same views

and inclinations. They did not consider that the old parliamentary party, though many of them were displeased with Cromwell, who had dispossessed them of their power, were still more apprehensive of any success to the royal cause; whence, besides a certain prospect of the same consequence, they had so much reason to dread the severest vengeance for their past transgressions. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

In concert with the king, a conspiracy was entered into by the royalists throughout England, and a day of general rising appointed. Information of this design was conveyed to Cromwell. The protector's administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the king's family, kept a regular correspondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, so generally diffused among a party who valued themselves more on zeal and courage than on secrecy and sobriety. Many of the royalists were thrown into prison. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conspiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the west, entered Salisbury with about two hundred horse, at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. These they made prisoners, and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no accession of force; so prevalent was the terror of the established government. Having in vain wandered about for some time, they were totally discouraged; and one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy, being taken prisoners, were capitally punished. The rest were sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes. Insurrection of the royalists. 11th Mar.

The easy subduing of this insurrection, which, by the boldness of the undertaking, struck at first a great terror into the nation, was a singular felicity to the protector, who could not, without danger, have brought together any considerable body of his mutinous army, in order to suppress it. The very insurrection itself he regarded as a fortunate event; since it proved the reality of those conspiracies which his enemies, on every occasion, represented as mere fictions, invented to colour his tyran-

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nical severities. He resolved to keep no longer any terms with the royalists, who, though they were not perhaps the most implacable of his enemies, were those whom he could oppress under the most plausible pretences, and who met with least countenance and protection from his adherents. He issued an edict, with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenses to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the public. Without regard to compositions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the royalists, however harassed with former oppressions, were obliged anew to redeem themselves by great sums of money; and many of them were reduced by these multiplied disasters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be disaffected, or even lay under any suspicion, though no guilt could be proved against him, was exposed to the new exaction.

In order to raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the protector instituted twelve major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions [o]. These men, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himself and his council. Under colour of these powers, which were sufficiently exorbitant, the major-generals exercised an authority still more arbitrary, and acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject. All reasonable men now concluded that the very mask of liberty was thrown aside, and that the nation was for ever subjected to military and despotic government, exercised not in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of eastern tyranny. Not only the supreme magistrate owed his authority to illegal force and usurpation; he had parcelled out the people into so many subdivisions of slavery, and had delegated to his inferior ministers the

[o] Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 433.

same unlimited authority which he himself had so violently assumed. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

A government totally military and despotic is almost sure, after some time, to fall into impotence and languor: but when it immediately succeeds a legal constitution, it may, at first, to foreign nations, appear very vigorous and active, and may exert with more unanimity that power, spirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form. It seems now proper, after so long an interval, to look abroad to the general state of Europe, and to consider the measures which England at this time embraced in its negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two last princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great security which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them negligent of the transactions on the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. The bold and restless genius of the protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprises to every part of Christendom; and partly from the ascendant of his magnanimous spirit, partly from the situation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its most legal and bravest princes, was never more sensibly felt than during this unjust and violent usurpation. State of Europe.

A war of thirty years, the most signal and most destructive that had appeared in modern annals, was at last finished in Germany[p]; and by the treaty of Westphalia were composed those fatal quarrels which had been excited by the Palatine's precipitate acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young Palatine was restored to part of his dignities and of his dominions[q]. The rights, privileges, and authority of the several members of the Germanic body were fixed and ascertained: sovereign princes and free states were in some degree reduced to obedience under laws: and by the valour of the heroic Gustavus, the enterprises of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effected,

[p] In 1648.

[q] This prince, during the civil wars, had much neglected his uncle, and paid court to the Parliament. He accepted of a pension of eight thousand pounds a year from them, and took a place in their assembly of divines.

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after an infinite expense of blood and treasure, what had been fondly expected and loudly demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, seconded by the scanty supplies of his jealous Parliaments.

Sweden, which had acquired by conquest large dominions in the North of Germany, was engaged in enterprises which promised her, from her success and valour, still more extensive acquisitions on the side both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles X., who had mounted the throne of that kingdom after the voluntary resignation of Christina, being stimulated by the fame of Gustavus, as well as by his own martial disposition, carried his conquering arms to the south of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated battle of Warsaw, which had been obstinately disputed during the space of three days. The protector, at the time his alliance was courted by every power in Europe, anxiously courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a Protestant power of such renown, even though it threatened the whole North with conquest and subjection.

The transactions of the Parliament and protector with France had been various and complicated. The emissaries of Richelieu had furnished fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it first broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffused itself, the French court observing the materials to be of themselves sufficiently combustible, found it unnecessary any longer to animate the British malecontents to an opposition of their sovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for composing these intestine disorders; and their ambassadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a prince with whom their master was connected by so near an affinity. Meanwhile, Richelieu died; and soon after him the French king, Louis XIII., leaving his son, an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine succeeded Richelieu in the ministry; and the same plans of general policy, though by men of such opposite characters, was still continued in the French councils. The establishment of royal authority, the reduction of the Austrian family, were pursued with ardour and success; and every year brought an accession

of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were won, towns and fortresses taken; the genius too of the nation seemed gradually to improve, and to compose itself to the spirit of dutiful obedience and of steady enterprise. A Condé, a Turenne, were formed; and the troops animated by their valour, and guided by their discipline, acquired every day a greater ascendant over the Spaniards. All of a sudden, from some intrigues of the court, and some discontents in the courts of judicature, intestine commotions were excited, and every thing relapsed into confusion. But these rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the spirit of liberty, nor disgraced by the fanatical extravagances which distinguished the British civil wars, were conducted with little bloodshed, and made but a small impression on the minds of the people. Though seconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the Prince of Condé, the malecontents, in a little time, were either expelled or subdued; and the French monarchy, having lost a few of its conquests, returned with fresh vigour to the acquisition of new dominion.

The Queen of England and her son Charles, during these commotions, passed most of their time at Paris; and, notwithstanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and still less support, from the French court. Had the queen-regent been ever so much inclined to assist the English prince, the disorders of her own affairs would for a long time have rendered such intentions impracticable. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that one morning, when the Cardinal de Retz waited on her, she informed him that her daughter, the Princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France!

The English Parliament, however, having assumed the sovereignty of the state, resented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the English merchants complained, they issued letters of reprisal upon the French; and Blake went so far as

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to attack and seize the whole squadron of ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. That town, disappointed of these supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French ministry soon found it necessary to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He went first to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years on a small pension, about six thousand pounds a year, paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he discovered a disposition to order and economy; and his temper, cheerful, careless, and sociable, was more than a sufficient compensation for that empire of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the Marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants.

If the French ministry had thought it prudent to bend under the English Parliament, they deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector, when he assumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the councils of France were directed, was artful and vigilant, supple and patient, false and intriguing; desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final success of his measures, than in the splendour and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwell, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his situation, acquired an ascendant over this man; and every proposal made by the protector, however unreasonable in itself, and urged with whatever insolence, met with a ready compliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux was sent over to England as minister; and all circumstances of respect were paid to the daring usurper, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, a prince so nearly related to the royal family of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwell seemed entirely to neglect; and though privateers, with English commissions, committed daily depreda-

tions on the French commerce, Mazarine was content, in hopes of a fortunate issue, still to submit to these indignities[r].

The court of Spain, less connected with the unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater distress than the French monarchy, had been still more forward in her advances to the prosperous Parliament and protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish envoy, was the first public minister who recognized the authority of the new republic; and in return for this civility, Ascham was sent envoy into Spain by the Parliament. No sooner had this minister arrived at Madrid, than some of the banished royalists, inflamed by that inveterate hatred which animated the English factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him, together with his secretary. Immediately they took sanctuary in the churches; and, assisted by the general favour which every where attended the royal cause, were enabled, most of them, to make their escape. Only one of the criminals suffered death; and the Parliament seemed to rest satisfied with this atonement.

Spain at this time, assailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and labouring under many internal disorders, retained nothing of her former grandeur, except the haughty pride of her counsels, and the hatred and jealousy of her neighbours. Portugal had rebelled, and established her monarchy in the house of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had revolted to France: Naples was shaken with popular convulsions: the Low Countries were invaded with superior forces, and seemed ready to change their master: the Spanish infantry, anciently so formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: and though the same prince, banished France, sustained, by his activity and valour, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin with which that monarchy was visibly threatened.

Had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining

[r] Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 103. 619. 653. In the treaty, which was signed after long negotiation, the protector's name was inserted before the French king's in that copy which remained in England. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 116. See farther, vol. vii. p. 178.

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condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved that balance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depend. Had he studied only his own interests, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between those great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his ill-acquired and unsettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend assistance to domestic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: his active disposition, and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose: and as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms.

War with Spain.

The extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumstances which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprising protector, and made him hope that he might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail in these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force without his laying new burdens on the discontented people. From France a vigorous resistance must be expected: no plunder, no conquests, could be hoped for; the progress of his arms, even if attended with success, must there be slow and gradual: and the advantages acquired, however real, would be less striking to the multitude, whom it was his interest to allure. The royal family, so closely connected with the French monarch, might receive great assistance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French Protestants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the most opposite factions against the present usurpation[s].

These motives of policy were probably seconded by his bigoted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained

[s] See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain, by Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

so strange a mixture of sagacity and absurdity, as that of this extraordinary personage. The Swedish alliance, though much contrary to the interests of England, he had contracted merely from his zeal for Protestantism [t]; and Sweden being closely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he so much prided himself, should a rupture ensue between England and this latter kingdom [u]. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a close union with their sovereign [w]. And as the Spaniards were much more Papists than the French, were much more exposed to the old puritanical hatred [x], and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquisition, whose rigours they had refused to mitigate on Cromwell's solicitation [y]; he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from Heaven [z]. A preacher likewise, inspired, as was supposed, by a prophetic spirit, bid him *go and prosper:* calling him *a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniard, crush Antichrist, and make way for the purity of the Gospel over the whole world* [a].

Actuated equally by these bigoted, these ambitious, and these interested motives, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons; and while he was making those preparations, the neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspense, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm should discharge itself. One of these squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe. No English fleet, except during the Crusades, had ever before sailed in those seas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and

[t] He proposed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the Protestants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims by which he conducted his foreign politics, see farther, Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 295. 343. 443; vol. vii. p. 174.

[u] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759. [w] Id. ibid. [x] Id. ibid.

[y] Id. ibid. Don Alonzo said, that the Indian trade and the inquisition were his master's two eyes, and the protector insisted upon the putting out both of them at once.

[z] Carrington, p. 191. [a] Bates.

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whose pride equally provoked attacks, dreaded invasion from a power which professed the most inveterate enmity against him, and which so little regulated its movements by the usual motives of interest and prudence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained from the Duke of Tuscany reparation for some losses which the English commerce had formerly sustained from him. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from farther violences on the English. He presented himself before Tunis; and having there made the same demands, the dey of that republic bade him look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not to be roused by such a bravado: he drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

Jamaica conquered.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried on board four thousand men, under the command of Venables. About five thousand more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's. Both these officers were inclined to the king's service[b]; and it is pretended that Cromwell was obliged to hurry the soldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conspiracy which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family[c]. The ill success of this enterprise may justly be ascribed, as much to the injudicious schemes of the protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers by whom it was conducted. The soldiers were the refuse of the whole army: the forces enlisted in the West Indies were the most profligate of mankind: Pen and Venables were of incompatible tempers: the troops were not furnished with arms fit for such an expedition: their provisions were defective both in quantity and quality: all hopes of pillage, the best incentive to valour among such men, were refused the soldiers and seamen: no directions or

[b] Clarendon. [c] Vita D. Berwici, p. 124.

intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprise: and at the same time they were tied down to follow the advice of commissioners who disconcerted them in all their projects[d]. 1655.

It was agreed by the admiral and general to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, in a fright, deserted their houses, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were disembarked, without guides, ten leagues distant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without provisions, and, what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered spirit, and attacked them. The English, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and scarcely alive from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, were unable to resist. An inconsiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed six hundred of them, and chased the rest on board their vessels. April 13.

The English commanders, in order to atone as much as possible for this unprosperous attempt, bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had made a conquest of greater importance than he was himself at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vast projects which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to support it by men and money; and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the English; the chief acquisition which they owe to the enterprising spirit of Cromwell.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods of English merchants, of which they could make themselves masters. The commerce with Spain, so profitable to the English, was cut off; and near 1656.

[d] Burchet's Naval History. See also Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 46, 47. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 505.

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fifteen hundred vessels, it is computed[e], fell, in a few years, into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards.

Several sea officers, having entertained scruples of conscience with regard to the justice of the Spanish war, threw up their commissions and retired[f]. No commands, they thought, of their superiors, could justify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magistrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in resigning to the public their natural liberty, could bestow on it only what they themselves were possessed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could invest it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of heaven. Such maxims, though they seem reasonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and must be regarded as one effect, though of the most innocent and even honourable kind, of that spirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Success,

Blake lay some time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the Plate fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to make sail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the coast, with a squadron of

September.

seven vessels, came in sight of the galleons, and immediately set sail to pursue them. The Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore: two others followed his example: the English took two ships valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were set on fire; and the Marquis of Badajox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife, and his daughter betrothed to the young Duke of Medina Celi, were destroyed in them. The marquis himself might have escaped, but seeing these unfortunate women, astonished with the danger, fall in a swoon, and perish in the flames, he rather chose to die with them, than drag out a life imbittered with the remembrance of such dismal scenes[g]. When the treasures gained by this enterprise arrived at Portsmouth, the protector, from a

[e] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 135. World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, in the Harl. Miscel. vol. i.

[f] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 570. 589.

[g] Ibid. vol. v. p. 443.

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spirit of ostentation, ordered them to be transported by land to London.

The next action against the Spaniards was more honourable, though less profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately made sail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a formidable posture. The bay was secured with a strong castle, well provided with cannon, besides seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with musqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, ordered all his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore, and posted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea.

Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and, blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They lay under the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must in a little time have torn them in pieces. But the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

and death of Admiral Blake.

This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, which he had so much adorned by his valour. As he came within sight of land, he expired [h]. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trusts and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is still our duty*, he said to the seamen, *to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall.* Disinterested, generous, liberal,

[h] 20th of April, 1657.

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ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies: he forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge; but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigour and enterprise, and drew a consideration to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. The great mind of this successful usurper was intent on spreading the renown of the English nation; and while he struck mankind with astonishment at his extraordinary fortune, he seemed to ennoble, instead of debasing, that people whom he had reduced to subjection. It was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, their national vanity being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they laboured.

Domestic administration of Cromwell.

It must also be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domestic administration, displayed as great regard both to justice and clemency, as his usurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the sword, could possibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity; amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial; and to every man but himself, and to himself except where necessity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whose credit with the republicans and levellers he dreaded, were indeed for some time confined to prison: Cony, who refused to pay illegal taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obstinacy: high courts of justice were erected to try those who had engaged in conspiracies and insurrections against the protector's authority, and whom he could not safely commit to the verdicts of juries. But these irregularities were deemed inevitable consequences of his illegal authority. And though often

urged by his officers, as is pretended[i], to attempt a general massacre of the royalists, he always with horror rejected such sanguinary counsels.

In the army was laid the sole basis of the protector's power, and in managing it consisted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The soldiers were held in exact discipline; a policy which both accustomed them to obedience, and made them less hateful and burdensome to the people. He augmented their pay, though the public necessities sometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their interests, they were sensible, were closely connected with those of their general and protector. And he entirely commanded their affectionate regard, by his abilities and success in almost every enterprise which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it stands in opposition to civil establishments; and still more where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticism which he had nourished in the soldiers, he had seduced them into measures, for which, if openly proposed to them, they would have entertained the utmost aversion. But this same spirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand which directed their movements. So often taught that the office of king was an usurpation upon Christ, they were apt to suspect a protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harrison, though raised to the highest dignity, and possessed of Cromwell's confidence, became his most inveterate enemy as soon as the authority of a single person was established, against which that usurper had always made such violent protestations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwell was obliged to deprive them of their commissions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, seemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthusiastic and seditious spirit of the troops, Cromwell established a kind of militia in the several counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were enlisted under proper officers, regular

[i] Clarendon, Life of Dr. Berwick.

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pay distributed among them, and a resource by that means provided both against the insurrections of the royalists and mutiny of the army.

Religion can never be deemed a point of small consequence in civil government; but during this period, it may be regarded as the great spring of men's actions and determinations. Though transported, himself, with the most frantic whimsies, Cromwell had adopted a scheme for regulating this principle in others, which was sagacious and political. Being resolved to maintain a national church, yet determined neither to admit episcopacy nor presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of *tryers*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some presbyterians, some independents. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted such persons as received holy orders; and they inspected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy. Instead of supporting that union between learning and theology, which has so long been attempted in Europe, these tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the sole object of their examination. The candidates were no more perplexed with questions concerning their progress in Greek and Roman erudition, concerning their talent for profane arts and sciences: the chief object of scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their conversion.

With the pretended saints of all denominations Cromwell was familiar and easy. Laying aside the state of protector, which, on other occasions, he well knew how to maintain, he insinuated to them, that nothing but necessity could ever oblige him to invest himself with it. He talked spiritually to them; he sighed, he wept, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghostly gifts; and these men, instead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud that his highness, by his princely example, had dignified those practices in which they themselves were daily occupied [k].

[k] Cromwell followed, though but in part, the advice which he received from General Harrison at the time when the intimacy and endearment most strongly subsisted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon Jehovah," said that military

If Cromwell might be said to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independents who could chiefly boast of his favour; and it may be affirmed, that such pastors of that sect as were not passionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him.

The presbyterian clergy also, saved from the ravages of the anabaptists and millenarians, and enjoying their establishments and tithes, were not averse to his government, though he still entertained a great jealousy of that ambitious and restless spirit by which they were actuated. He granted an unbounded liberty of conscience to all but Catholics and prelatists; and by that means he both attached the wild sectaries to his person, and employed them in curbing the domineering spirit of the presbyterians. "I am the only man," he was often heard to say, "who has known how to subdue that insolent sect, which can suffer none but itself."

The Protestant zeal which possessed the presbyterians and independents was highly gratified by the haughty manner in which the protector so successfully supported the persecuted Protestants throughout all Europe. Even the Duke of Savoy, so remote a power, and so little exposed to the naval force of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the Protestants of the valleys, against whom that prince had commenced a furious persecution. France itself was constrained to bear not only with the religion, but even, in some instances, with the seditious insolence, of the Hugonots; and when the French court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the Catholic religion in England, the protector, who arrogated in every thing the superiority, would hearken to no such proposal. He had entertained a project of instituting a college, in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith; and his apostles, in zeal, though not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the Catholics.

Cromwell retained the church of England in constraint,

saint, "be the greatest and most considerable business you have every day: reckon it so, more than to eat, sleep, and counsel together. Run aside sometimes from your company, and get a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a corner? I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way." Milton's State Papers, p. 12.

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though he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican Parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royalists, both by the army which he retained, and by those secret spies which he found means to intermix in all their counsels. Manning being detected and punished with death, he corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much trusted by Chancellor Hyde and all the royalists; and by means of this man he was let into every design and conspiracy of the party. He could disconcert any project, by confining the persons who were to be the actors in it; and as he restored them afterwards to liberty, his severity passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. The secret source of his intelligence remained still unknown and unsuspected.

Conspiracies for an assassination he was chiefly afraid of; these being designs which no prudence or vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a spirited discourse, exhorting every one to embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwell knew that the inflamed minds of the royal party were sufficiently disposed to put the doctrine in practice against him. He openly told them, that assassinations were base and odious, and he never would commence hostilities by so shameful an expedient; but if the first attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermost. He had instruments, he said, whom he could employ; and he never would desist till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the security of his person[1].

There was no point about which the protector was more solicitous than to procure intelligence. This article alone, it is said, cost him sixty thousand pounds a year. Postmasters, both at home and abroad, were in his pay; carriers were searched or bribed; secretaries and clerks were corrupted; the greatest zealots in all parties were often those who conveyed private information to him; and nothing could escape his vigilant inquiry. Such at least is the representation made by historians of Cromwell's administration. But it must be confessed, that if

[1] See note [S], at the end of the volume.

we may judge by those volumes of Thurloe's papers which have been lately published, this affair, like many others, has been greatly magnified. We scarcely find, by that collection, that any secret counsels of foreign states, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed, were known to the protector.

The general behaviour and deportment of this man, who had been raised from a very private station, who had passed most of his youth in the country, and who was still constrained so much to frequent bad company, was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation, and supported with all strangers that high idea with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. Among his ancient friends he could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar approaches[m]. With others he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery; and he would amuse himself by putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him[n]. Before the king's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government which they were to substitute in the room of the monarchical constitution now totally subverted. After debates on this subject, the most important that could fall under the discussion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell, by way of frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cushion in order to return the compliment, the general ran down stairs, and had almost fallen in the hurry. When the high court of justice was signing the warrant for the execution of the king, a matter, if possible, still more serious, Cromwell, taking the pen in his hand, before he subscribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Martin, who sat next him; and the pen being delivered to Martin, he practised the same frolic upon Cromwell[o]. He frequently gave feasts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was set upon the table, a signal was given, the soldiers rushed in upon them, and with much noise, tumult, and confusion, ran

[m] Whitlocke, p. 647. [n] Bates. [o] Trial of the Regicides.

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away with all the dishes, and disappointed the guests of their expected meal[p].

That vein of frolic and pleasantry which made a part, however inconsistent, of Cromwell's character, was apt sometimes to betray him into other inconsistencies, and to discover itself even where religion might seem to be a little concerned. It is a tradition, that one day, sitting at table, the protector had a bottle of wine brought him, of a kind which he valued so highly, that he must needs open the bottle himself; but in attempting it, the cork-screw dropped from his hand. Immediately his courtiers and generals flung themselves on the floor to recover it. Cromwell burst out a laughing. *Should any fool*, said he, *put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your posture, that you were seeking the Lord; and you are only seeking a corkscrew.*

Amidst all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this singular personage, he took the opportunity of remarking the characters, designs, and weaknesses of men; and he would sometimes push them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the most secret recesses of their bosom. Great regularity, however, and even austerity of manners, were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never, by any liberties, to give offence to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld, but with little expense, and without any splendour. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to intermix with those mean persons who were the instruments of his government. Without departing from economy, he was generous to those who served him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests every man possessed of those talents which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambassadors, were persons who contributed, all of them in their several spheres, to the security of the protector, and to the honour and interest of the nation.

Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwell had reduced those kingdoms to a total subjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting

[p] Bates.

mostly of English, of which Lord Broghil was president. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both abolished all vassalage[q], and revived the office of justice of peace, which King James had introduced, but was not able to support[r]. A long line of forts and garrisons was maintained throughout the kingdom. An army of ten thousand men[s] kept every thing in peace and obedience; and neither the banditti of the mountains, nor the bigots of the Low Countries, could indulge their inclination to turbulence and disorder. He courted the presbyterian clergy, though he nourished that intestine enmity which prevailed between the resolutioners and protesters; and he found that very little policy was requisite to foment quarrels among theologians: he permitted no church assemblies, being sensible that from thence had proceeded many of the past disorders: and, in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular factious liberty, had they attained so much happiness as at present, when reduced to subjection under a foreign nation.

The protector's administration of Ireland was more severe and violent. The government of that island was first intrusted to Fleetwood, a notorious fanatic, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, a young man of an amiable, mild disposition, and not destitute of vigour and capacity. Above five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popish rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly, among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the Parliament, partly among the English soldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more sudden and violent change of property are scarcely to be found in any history. An order was even issued to confine all the native Irish to the province of Connaught, where they would be shut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains, and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the English government; but this barbarous and absurd policy, which from an impatience of attaining immediate security, must have depopulated all the other

q Whitlocke, p. 570. r Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 57. s Idem, vol. vi. p. 557.

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provinces, and rendered the English estates of no value, was soon abandoned as impracticable.

1656. New Parliament.

Cromwell began to hope that by his administration, attended with so much lustre and success abroad, so much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired such authority as would enable him to meet the representatives of the nation, and would assure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He summoned a Parliament; but, not trusting altogether to the goodwill of the people, he used every art, which his new model of representation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections, and fill the House with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, chose few but such officers as were most acceptable to him. Scotland showed a like compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on English Parliaments as an ignominious badge of slavery, it was, on that account, more easy for the officers

17th Sept.

to prevail in the elections. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the protector still found that the majority would not be favourable to him. He set guards therefore on the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the Parliament.

The majority of the Parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was now at last either friendly to the protector, or resolved by their compliance to adjust, if possible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family; and this was the first act dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the House, ventured to move, that the Parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwell; and no surprise or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwell afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to make such a motion; "As long,"

said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in Parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," said Cromwell, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, "get thee gone, for a mad fellow as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwell resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That measure was also become necessary for his own security. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between a despotic monarchy and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being possessed of so much distinct jurisdiction, began to establish a separate title to power, and had rendered themselves formidable to the protector himself; and for this inconvenience, though he had not foreseen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his son-in-law, who possessed his confidence, abandoned them to the pleasure of the House; and though the name was still retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At length, a motion in form was made by Alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the dignity of king. This motion, at first, excited great disorder, and divided the whole House into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the major-generals, and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship; and he foresaw, that if the monarchy were restored, hereditary right would also be established, and the crown be transmitted to the posterity of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and rousing all those civil and religious jealousies against kingly government, which had been so industriously encouraged among the soldiers, and which served them as a pretence for so many violences,

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1656.

he raised a numerous, and still more formidable, party against the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was supported by every one who was more particularly devoted to the protector, and who hoped, by so acceptable a measure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired of ever being able to subvert the present illegal establishment; and were desirous, by fixing it on ancient foundations, to induce the protector, from views of his own safety, to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the royalists imprudently joined in the measure, and hoped that, when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and an ignoble usurper, who, by blood, treason, and perfidy, had made his way to the throne. The bill was voted by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome those scruples which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer.

1657. Crown offered to Cromwell. 9th April.

The conference lasted for several days. The committee urged, that all the statutes and customs of England were founded on the supposition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjusted to any other form of government; that a protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws, and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority; that if it were attempted to define every part of his jurisdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of so complicated a work; if the whole power of the king were at once transferred to him, the question was plainly about a name, and the preference was indisputably due to the ancient title: that the English constitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birthright of the first magistrate, and had provided, by an express law of Henry VII., for the security of those who act in defence of the king in being, by whatever means he might have acquired possession: that it was extremely the interest of all his highness's friends to seek the shelter of this statute; and even the people in general

were desirous of such a settlement, and in all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favour of a protector; that the great source of all the late commotions had been the jealousy of liberty; and that a republic, together with a protector, had been established, in order to provide farther securities for the freedom of the constitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found insufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; since every undeterminate power, such as that of a protector, must be arbitrary, and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwell. He was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of these reasons; and his inclination as well as judgment was entirely on the side of the committee. But how to bring over the soldiers to the same way of thinking was the question. The office of king had been painted to them in such horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling them suddenly to it, even though bestowed upon their general, to whom they were so much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all past professions, would make them pass, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the most shameless hypocrites, enlisted by no other than mercenary motives in the cause of the most perfidious traitor. Principles, such as they were, had been encouraged in them by every consideration, human and divine; and though it was easy, where interest concurred, to deceive them by the thinnest disguises, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the mask, and to show them, in a full light, the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suspended between these fears, and his own most ardent desires, Cromwell protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the reasonings of the committee, in hopes that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the soldiers to his new dignity.

While the protector argued so much in contradiction both to his judgment and inclination, it is no wonder that his elocution, always confused, embarrassed, and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reason.

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An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curiosity. The members of the committee, in their reasonings, discover judgment, knowledge, elocution; Lord Broghil, in particular, exerts himself on this memorable occasion. But what a contrast, when we pass to the protector's replies! After so singular a manner does nature distribute her talents, that in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the Parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of[t].

The opposition which Cromwell dreaded was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was resolved, on the first occasion, to deprive of all power and authority; it was that which he met with in his own family, and from men who by interest, as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter, Desborow his sister; yet these

[t] We shall produce any passage at random, for his discourse is all of a piece. "I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say, I hope, I may be understood in this; for indeed I must be tender what I say to such an audience as this; I say I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind and a Parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me, that my words have the least colour that way, because the Parliament seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them; and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative, wheresoever it is: if, I say, I should not tell you; knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names of such things I have not: but as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my informations; so truly men that have been led in dark paths, through the providence and dispensation of God: why, surely, it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? But providence does so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be that it is the providence of God that doth lead men in darkness; I must needs say, that I have had a great deal of experience of Providence, and though it is no rule without or against the word, yet it is a very good expositor of the word in many cases." *Conference at Whitehall.* The great defect in Oliver's speeches consists, not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons, (for he also wrote sermons,) would make a great curiosity, and, with a few exceptions, might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world.

men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. They told him that, if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards should have it in their power to serve him[u]. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by the majority of the officers who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several persons, it is said, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the Parliament. Some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwell, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him. Most historians are inclined to blame his choice, but he must be allowed the best judge of his own situation. And in such complicated subjects, the alteration of a very minute circumstance, unknown to the spectator, will often be sufficient to cast the balance, and render a determination, which, in itself, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even absolutely necessary to the actor.

He rejects it.

A dream or prophecy, Lord Clarendon mentions, which he affirms (and he must have known the truth) was universally talked of, almost from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwell was so considerable a person as to bestow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold that Cromwell should be the greatest man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully, mount the throne. Such a prepossession probably arose from the heated imagination either of himself or of his followers; and as it might be one cause of the great progress which he had already made, it is not an unlikely reason which may be assigned for his refusing, at this time, any farther elevation.

The Parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwell, found themselves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was

[u] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 261.

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thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. Instead of the *instrument of government*, which was the work of the general officers alone, *an humble petition and advice* was framed, and offered to the protector, by the Parliament. This was represented as the great basis of the republican establishment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the constitution, and securing the liberty of the people to the most remote posterity. By this deed, the authority of protector was, in some particulars, enlarged; in others it was considerably diminished. He had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him, a million a year for the pay of the fleet and army, three hundred thousand pounds for the support of civil government: and he had authority to name another House, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former House of Peers. But he abandoned the power assumed in the intervals of Parliament, of framing laws with the consent of his council; and he agreed that no members of either House should be excluded but by the consent of that House of which they were members. The other articles were, in the main, the same as in the instrument of government. The instrument of government Cromwell had formerly extolled, as the most perfect work of human invention: he now represented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself without sinking. Even the humble petition and advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared so lame and imperfect, that it was found requisite, this very session, to mend it by a supplement; and, after all, it may be regarded as a crude and undigested model of government. It was, however, accepted for the voluntary deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwell, as if his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was anew inaugurated in Westminster-hall, after the most solemn and most pompous manner.

Humble petition and advice.

26th June.

The Parliament having adjourned itself, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commissions; but still allowed him a considerable pension of two thousand pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the sur-

prise of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loss of his commission. Packer and some other officers, whom Cromwell suspected, were also displaced. 1657.

Richard, eldest son of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorship, though Cromwell sometimes employed the gross artifice of flattering others with hopes of the succession. Richard was a person possessed of the most peaceable, inoffensive, unambitious character, and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a small estate which his wife had brought him. All the activity which he discovered, and which never was great, was however exerted to beneficent purposes; at the time of the king's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and had conjured him, by every tie of duty and humanity, to spare the life of that monarch. Cromwell had two daughters unmarried: one of them he now gave in marriage to the grandson and heir of his great friend, the Earl of Warwick, with whom he had, in every fortune, preserved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correspondence. The other he married to the Viscount Fauconberg, of a family formerly devoted to the royal party. He was ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility; and it was one chief motive for his desiring the title of king, that he might replace every thing in its natural order, and restore to the ancient families the trust and honour of which he now found himself obliged, for his own safety, to deprive them.

The Parliament was again assembled; consisting, as in the times of monarchy, of two Houses, the Commons and the other House. Cromwell, during the interval, had sent writs to his House of Peers, which consisted of sixty members. They were composed of five or six ancient peers, of several gentlemen of fortune and distinction, and of some officers, who had risen from the meanest stations. None of the ancient peers, however, though summoned by writ, would deign to accept of a seat, which they must share with such companions as were assigned them. The protector endeavoured, at first, to maintain the appearance of a legal magistrate. He placed no guard at the door of either House; but soon found how 1658. 20th Jan.

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incompatible liberty is with military usurpations. By bringing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the other House, he had lost the majority among the national representatives. In consequence of a clause in the humble petition and advice, the Commons assumed a power of readmitting those members whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and some others, whom Cromwell had created lords, rather chose to take their seat with the Commons. An incontestable majority now declared themselves against the protector: and they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that other House which he had established. Even the validity of the humble petition and advice was questioned; as being voted by a Parliament which lay under force, and which was deprived, by military violence, of a considerable number of its members. The protector, dreading combinations between the Parliament and the malecontents in the army, resolved to allow no leisure for forming any conspiracy against him; and with ex-

4th Feb.

pressions of great displeasure, he dissolved the Parliament. When urged by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into this rash measure, he swore, by the living God, that they should not sit a moment longer.

These distractions at home were not able to take off the protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his measures he proceeded with the same vigour and enterprise, as if secure of the duty and attachment of the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he still supported; and he endeavoured to assist that crown in its successful enterprises, for reducing all its neighbours to subjection, and rendering itself absolute master of the Baltic. As soon as Spain declared war against him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himself in all his counsels with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain having long courted, in vain, the friendship of the successful usurper, was reduced at last to apply to the unfortunate prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his small court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The Duke of York, who had, with applause, served some

campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular esteem of Marshal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to seek military experience under Don John of Austria and the Prince of Condé.

The scheme of foreign politics adopted by the protector was highly imprudent, but was suitable to that magnanimity and enterprise with which he was so signally endowed. He was particularly desirous of conquest and dominion on the continent[w]; and he sent over into Flanders six thousand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into the hands of the English. Early this campaign, siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated[x]. The valour of the English was much remarked on this occasion. Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwell. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of abilities, who had married his niece, and was his ambassador at the court of France.

Dunkirk taken.

This acquisition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was resolved to concert measures with the French court for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries[y]. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in

[w] He aspired to get possession of Elsinore and the passage of the Sound. See *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*. He also endeavoured to get possession of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

[x] It was remarked by the saints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a fast in London, so that as Fleetwood said, (Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 159,) while we were praying, they were fighting, and the Lord hath given a signal answer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all straits and difficulties. Cromwell's Letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the same spirit. Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 744. You have, says he, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved ministers and Christians in this nation, and notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you, which are to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our all-wise Father, who not only out of prerogative, but because of his goodness, wisdom, and truth, ought to be resigned unto by his creatures, especially those who are children of his begetting through the Spirit, &c.

[y] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 762.

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England, so chimerical, or rather so dangerous a project, would certainly have been carried into execution. And this first and principal step towards more extensive conquest, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expense of blood and treasure, fully to attain, had at once been accomplished by the enterprising, though unskilful, politics of Cromwell.

During these transactions, great demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard passed between the French king and the protector. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, was despatched to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the regard usually paid to foreign princes by the French court[z]. Mazarine sent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the Duke of Crequi; and expressed his regret, that his urgent affairs should deprive him of the honour which he had long wished for, of paying, in person, his respects to the greatest man in the world[a].

The protector reaped little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad: the situation in which he stood at home kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His administration, so expensive both by military enterprises and secret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in a considerable debt. The royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies for a general insurrection; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this project. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent; and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from it. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the last Parliament, that he should ever be able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or temper the military with any mixture of civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhausted; and having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost

[z] Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 151. 158.

[a] In reality the cardinal had not entertained so high an idea of Cromwell. He used to say, that he was a fortunate madman. Vie de Cromwell par Raguenet. See also Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 81. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 93. World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the same professions, to meet with equal confidence and regard. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

However zealous the royalists, their conspiracy took not effect: Willis discovered the whole to the protector. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was anew erected for the trial of those criminals whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last Parliament, the protector could not as yet trust to an unbiassed jury. Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the Earl of Peterborough, narrowly escaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquittal were equal; and just as the sentence was pronounced in his favour, Colonel Pride, who was resolved to condemn him, came into court. Ashton, Storey, and Bestley, were hanged in different streets of the city.

The conspiracy of the millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions. Harrison and the other discarded officers of that party could not remain at rest. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and by conscience, they still harboured in their breast some desperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were disposed to second all their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwell to interpose with their advice in all political deliberations; and he had even pretended to honour many of them with his intimate friendship, while he conducted his daring enterprises against the king and the Parliament. It was a usual practice with him, in order to familiarize himself the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or serjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to discuss together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having assumed the dignity of protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leisure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among those who were enraged at this

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treatment was Sexby, an active agitator, who now employed against him all that restless industry which had formerly been exerted in his favour. He even went so far as to enter into a correspondence with Spain; and Cromwell, who knew the distempers of the army, was justly afraid of some mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an instant, might provide leaders.

Of assassination likewise he was apprehensive, from the zealous spirit which actuated the soldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him; and by the most unaccountable accidents, had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpose. His design was discovered; but the protector could never find the bottom of the enterprise, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury; and notwithstanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithstanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, so little conviction prevailed of the protector's right to the supreme government, it was with the utmost difficulty[b] that this conspirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead; from poison, as is supposed, which he had voluntarily taken.

The protector might better have supported those fears and apprehensions which the public distempers occasioned, had he enjoyed any domestic satisfaction, or possessed any cordial friend of his own family, in whose bosom he could safely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated by the wildest zeal, began to estrange himself from him; and was enraged to discover that Cromwell, in all his enterprises, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made such fervent professions. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehement, that she could not with patience behold power lodged in a single person, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favour of the royal cause, and regretted the violences and iniquities into which they thought their family had so unhappily been transported. Above all, the sickness of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favourite, a

[b] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 53.

lady endued with many humane virtues and amiable accomplishments, depressed his anxious mind, and poisoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refused his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, increased by her distempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his sanguinary measures, and urge him to compunction for those heinous crimes into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed soon after, gave new edge to every word which she had uttered. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

All composure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: he felt that the grandeur which he had attained with so much guilt and courage could not ensure him that tranquillity which it belongs to virtue alone, and moderation, fully to ascertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually some fatal accident in his distempered government, seeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, possessing the confidence of no party, resting his title on no principle, civil or religious, he found his power to depend on so delicate a poise of factions and interests, as the smallest event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which with such signal intrepidity he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his terrified apprehension, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him: with a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him; he wore armour under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber: and he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose, nor entrusted himself in any which was not pro-

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vided with back doors, at which sentinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: solitude astonished him, by withdrawing that protection which he found so necessary for his security.

Sickness of the protector.

His body, also, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health seemed sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week, no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to entertain some thoughts of death, and to cast his eye towards that future existence, whose idea had once been intimately present to him; though since, in the hurry of affairs, and in the shock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or suffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then I am safe," said the protector: "for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace."

His physicians were sensible of the perilous condition to which his distemper had reduced him: but his chaplains, by their prayers, visions, and revelations, so buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable answer, it was pretended, had been returned by Heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he relied on their asseverations, much more than on the opinion of the most experienced physicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I tell you, I shall not die of this distemper: I am well assured of my recovery. It is promised by the Lord, not only to my supplications, but to those of men who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate correspondence with him. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world, and God is far above nature[c]." Nay, to such a degree of madness did their enthusiastic assurances amount, that upon a fast day, which was observed on his account both at Hampton-court and at Whitehall, they did not so much pray for

[c] Bates; see also Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355. 416.

his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges which they had received of his recovery. He himself was overheard offering up his addresses to heaven; and so far had the illusions of fanaticism prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural morality, that he assumed more the character of a mediator, interceding for his people, than that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of social duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the severest vengeance. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

Meanwhile all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate for him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar. His partisans, as well as his enemies, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices. His death,

The writers attached to the memory of this wonderful person make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the most extravagant panegyric: his enemies form such a representation of his moral qualities, as resembles the most virulent invective. Both of them, it must be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune, as bestow on their representation a great air of probability. "What can be more extraordinary," it is said[d], "than that a person of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor shining talents of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest and character.

[d] Cowley's Discourses: this passage is altered in some particulars from the original.

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dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute, so great a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a Parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that Parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress again that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England? Overcome first all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriously at last? Overrun each corner of the three nations, and subdue, with equal facility, both the riches of the south, and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and be adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? Call together Parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of seditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant? Have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the spending of them? And lastly, (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory,) with one word bequeath all this power and splendour to his posterity? Die possessed of peace at home, and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world; which as it was too little for his praise, so might it have

been for his conquests, if the short line of his mortal life could have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs."

My intention is not to disfigure this picture drawn by so masterly a hand: I shall only endeavour to remove from it somewhat of the marvellous; a circumstance which, on all occasions, gives much ground for doubt and suspicion. It seems to me, that the circumstance of Cromwell's life, in which his abilities are principally discovered, is his rising from a private station, in opposition to so many rivals, so much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his signal military talents, his eminent dexterity and address, were all requisite for this important acquisition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of supernatural abilities, when we consider that Fairfax himself, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a seat in Parliament, had, through the same steps, attained even a superior rank, and, if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite such an army to rebellion against the Parliament required no uncommon art or industry; to have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprise. When the breach was once formed between the military and civil powers, a supreme and absolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general: and if he be afterwards pleased to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded on most occasions as great condescension, if not as superfluous caution. That Cromwell was ever able really to blind or overreach either the king or the republicans, does not appear; as they possessed no means of resisting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and by seeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themselves from his dominion. If he seduced the military fanatics, it is to be considered that their interests and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education exposed them to the grossest imposition, and that he himself was at bottom as frantic an enthusiast as the worst of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to display those vulgar and ridiculous habits which he had early acquired, and on which he set so high a value. An

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army is so forcible, and at the same time so coarse a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society.

The domestic administration of Cromwell, though it discovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: perhaps, his difficult situation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprises, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national interest, and seem more the result of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foresight and deliberation. An eminent personage, however, he was in many respects, and even a superior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities which in him were most admirable, and which most contributed to his marvellous success, were the magnanimous resolution of his enterprises, and his peculiar dexterity in discovering the characters, and practising on the weaknesses, of mankind.

If we survey the moral character of Cromwell with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. Amidst the passions and prejudices of that period, that he should prefer the parliamentary to the royal cause, will not appear extraordinary; since even at present, some men of sense and knowledge are disposed to think that the question, with regard to the justice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and uncertain. The murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action that he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see how the various factions could at that time have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more ex-

traordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity.

Cromwell was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters, one married to General Fleetwood, another to Lord Faconberg, a third to Lord Rich. His father died when he was very young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. She could not be persuaded that his power or person was ever in safety. At every noise which she heard, she exclaimed that her son was murdered; and was never satisfied that he was alive, if she did not receive frequent visits from him. She was a decent woman, and, by her frugality and industry, had raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune. She had even been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwell, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatized with the name of the brewer. Ludlow, by way of insult, mentions the great accession which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who possessed a jointure of sixty pounds a year upon his estate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

CHAPTER LXII.

Richard acknowledged Protector.—A Parliament.—Cabal of Wallingford-House.—Richard deposed.—Long Parliament or Rump restored.—Conspiracy of the Royalists.—Insurrection.—Suppressed.—Parliament expelled.—Committee of Safety.—Foreign Affairs.—General Monk.—Monk declares for the Parliament.—Parliament restored.—Monk enters London, declares for a free Parliament.—Secluded Members restored.—Long Parliament dissolved.—New Parliament.—The Restoration.—Manners and Arts.

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All the arts of Cromwell's policy had been so often practised, that they began to lose their effect: and his power, instead of being confirmed by time and success, seemed every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the most closely connected with him, and his counsellors the most trusted, were entering into cabals against his authority; and with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any ministers on whom he could rely. Men of probity and honour, he knew, would not submit to be the instruments of an usurpation violent and illegal: those who were free from the restraint of principle might betray, from interest, that cause in which, from no better motives, they had enlisted themselves. Even those on whom he conferred any favour never deemed the recompense an equivalent for the sacrifices which they made to obtain it: whoever was refused any demand, justified his anger by the specious colours of conscience and of duty. Such difficulties surrounded the protector, that his dying at so critical a time is esteemed by many the most fortunate circumstance that ever attended him; and it was thought that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his usurped administration.

But when that potent hand was removed which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accustomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the offi-

cers, and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not long, it was thought, maintain that authority which his father had acquired by so many valorous achievements, and such signal successes. And when it was observed that he possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so many vices; that indolence, incapacity, irresolution, attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution. For some time, however, the public was disappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the succession of Richard: Fleetwood, in whose favour it was supposed Cromwell had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the protectorship: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwell, immediately proclaimed the new protector: the army every where, the fleet, acknowledged his title: above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance: foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments: and Richard, whose moderate, unambitious character never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of so rich an inheritance, which seemed to be tendered to him by the consent of all mankind.

1658. Richard acknowledged protector.

It was found necessary to call a Parliament, in order to furnish supplies, both for the ordinary administration, and for fulfilling those engagements with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence in elections, the ancient right was restored to all the small boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their usual members. The House of Peers, or the other House, consisted of the same persons that had been appointed by Oliver.

A Parliament.

All the Commons at first signed, without hesitation, an engagement not to alter the present government. They next proceeded to examine *the humble petition and*

1659. 7th Jan.

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advice; and after great opposition and many vehement debates, it was at length, with much difficulty, carried by the court-party to confirm it. An acknowledgment too of the authority of the other House was extorted from them; though it was resolved not to treat this House of Peers with any greater respect than they should return to the Commons. A declaration was also made, that the establishment of the other House should nowise prejudice the right of such of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the Parliament. But in all these proceedings, the opposition among the Commons was so considerable, and the debates were so much prolonged, that all business was retarded, and great alarm given to the partisans of the young protector.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were justly apprehended. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were entering into cabals against him. No character in human society is more dangerous than that of the fanatic; because if attended with weak judgment, he is exposed to the suggestions of others; if supported by more discernment, he is entirely governed by his own illusions, which sanctify his most selfish views and passions. Fleetwood was of the former species; and as he was extremely addicted to a republic, and even to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the saints, it was easy for those, who had insinuated themselves into his confidence, to instil disgusts against the dignity of protector. The whole republican party in the army, which was still considerable, Fitz, Mason, Moss, Farley, united themselves to that general. The officers too of the same party, whom Cromwell had discarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority which had been only for a time suspended. A party likewise, who found themselves eclipsed in Richard's favour, Sydenham, Kelsey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Desborow, the protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now roused from his retreat, inflamed all those dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion.

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1659. Cabal of Walling-ford-house.

The discontented officers established their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and because he dwelt in Wallingford-house, the party received a denomination from that place.

Richard, who possessed neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give an unguarded consent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No sooner were they assembled than they voted a remonstrance. They there lamented that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, that is, the cause for which they had engaged against the late king, was entirely neglected; and they proposed, as a remedy, that the whole military power should be entrusted to some person in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Titchburn and Ireton, expressed the same resolution of adhering to *the good old cause*.

The protector was justly alarmed at those movements among the officers. The persons in whom he chiefly confided were, all of them, excepting Broghil, men of civil characters and professions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitlocke, Wolsey; who could only assist him with their advice and opinion. He possessed none of those arts which were proper to gain an enthusiastic army. Murmurs being thrown out against some promotions which he had made, *Would you have me*, said he, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingolsby*, continued he, *who can neither pray nor preach? yet will I trust him before ye all*[a]. This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended saints. The other qualities of the protector were correspondent to these sentiments: he was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition. Some of his party offering to put an end to those intrigues by the death of Lambert, he declared that he would not purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures.

The Parliament was no less alarmed at the military cabals. They voted that there should be no meeting or general-council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers hastened to Richard,

[a] Ludlow.

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and demanded of him the dissolution of the Parliament. Desborow, a man of a clownish and brutal nature, threatened him, if he should refuse compliance. The protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist. The Parliament was dissolved; and by the same act the protector was, by every one, considered as effectually dethroned. Soon after he signed his demission in form.

April 22. Richard deposed.

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the same moderate disposition as Richard; but as he possessed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended that he might make resistance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his personal authority, notwithstanding his youth, was considerable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had no doubt been able to create disturbance: but being threatened by Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly resigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not resolution to execute, of proclaiming the king in Dublin [b].

Thus fell suddenly, and from an enormous height, but by a rare fortune without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to possess an estate which was moderate, and burdened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced, under a borrowed name, to the Prince of Conti. That prince, talking of English affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwell's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," said he, "what has become of him? How could he be such a blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from all his father's crimes and successes?" Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a recompense more precious than noisy fame, and more suitable, contentment and tranquillity.

The council of officers, now possessed of supreme autho-

[b] Carte's Collections, vol. ii. p. 243.

rity, deliberated what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleasure, it was agreed to preserve the shadow of civil administration, and to revive the Long Parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwell. That assembly could not be dissolved, it was asserted, but by their own consent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to destroy, their right to government. The officers also expected that, as these members had sufficiently felt their own weakness, they would be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain where the power was so visibly vested.

The officers applied to Lenthal, the speaker, and proposed to him that the Parliament should resume their seats. Lenthal was of a low, timid spirit; and, being uncertain what issue might attend these measures, was desirous of evading the proposal. He replied, that he could by no means comply with the desire of the officers; being engaged in a business of far greater importance to himself, which he could not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. The officers pressed him to tell what it might be. He was preparing, he said, to participate of the Lord's Supper, which he resolved to take next Sabbath. They insisted, that mercy was preferable to sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for that great duty, than by contributing to the public service. All their remonstrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day, the speaker being informed that a quorum of the House was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, as Ludlow observes, to join them; and the House immediately proceeded upon business. The secluded members attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

Long Parliament, or Rump, restored.

The numbers of this Parliament were small, little exceeding seventy members; their authority in the nation, ever since they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminished, and after their expulsion, had been

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totally annihilated: but being all of them men of violent ambition; some of them men of experience and capacity; they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, and observed that some appearance of a Parliament was requisite for the purposes of the army, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They chose a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-house should not be the majority: they appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted in his commission that it should only continue during the pleasure of the House: they chose seven persons who should nominate to such commands as became vacant: and they voted that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the House. These precautions, the tendency of which was visible, gave great disgust to the general officers; and their discontent would immediately have broken out into some resolution fatal to the Parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

The bulk of the nation consisted of royalists and presbyterians; and to both these parties the dominion of the pretended Parliament had ever been to the last degree odious. When that assembly was expelled by Cromwell, contempt had succeeded to hatred; and no reserve had been used in expressing the utmost derision against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. Seeing them reinstated in authority, all orders of men felt the highest indignation, together with apprehensions, lest such tyrannical rulers should exert their power by taking vengeance upon their enemies, who had so openly insulted them. A secret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties, and it was agreed that, burying former enmities in oblivion, all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the Rump; so they called the Parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body. The presbyterians, sensible from experience that their passion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable excesses, were willing to lay aside ancient jealousies, and at all hazards to restore the royal family; the nobility, the gentry, bent their passionate endea-

vours to the same enterprise, by which alone they could be redeemed from slavery; and no man was so remote from party, so indifferent to public good, as not to feel the most ardent wishes for the dissolution of that tyranny which, whether the civil or the military part of it were considered, appeared equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

Conspiracy of the royalists.

Mordaunt, who had so narrowly escaped on his trial before the high court of justice, seemed rather animated than daunted with past danger; and having, by his resolute behaviour, obtained the highest confidence of the royal party, he was now become the centre of all their conspiracies. In many counties, a resolution was taken to rise in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townshend, undertook to secure Lynn; General Massey engaged to seize Gloucester; Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen, conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir George Booth, of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton, of North Wales; Arundel, Pollar, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all these enterprises; and the king, attended by the Duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects. The French court had promised to supply him with a small body of forces, in order to countenance the insurrections of the English.

This combination was disconcerted by the infidelity of Sir Richard Willis. That traitor continued with the Parliament the same correspondence which he had begun with Cromwell. He had engaged to reveal all conspiracies, so far as to destroy their effect; but reserved to himself, if he pleased, the power of concealing the conspirators. He took care never to name any of the old genuine cavaliers, who had zealously adhered, and were resolved still to adhere, to the royal cause in every fortune. These men he esteemed; these he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the presbyterians, or such lukewarm royalists as, discouraged with their disappointments, were resolved to expose themselves to no more hazards. A lively proof how impos-

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sible it is, even for the most corrupted minds, to divest themselves of all regard to morality and social duty!

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Many of the conspirators in the different counties were thrown into prison; others, astonished at such symptoms of secret treachery, left their houses, or remained quiet: the most tempestuous weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendezvous, insomuch that some found it impossible to join their friends, and others were dismayed with fear and superstition at an incident so unusual during the summer season. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect was that of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. The Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, Colonel Morgan, entered into this enterprise. Sir William Middleton joined Booth with some troops from North Wales; and the malecontents were powerful enough to subdue all in that neighbourhood who ventured to oppose them. In their declaration they made no mention of the king; they only demanded a free and full Parliament.

The Parliament was justly alarmed. How combustible the materials, they well knew; and the fire was now fallen among them. Booth was of a family eminently presbyterian; and his conjunction with the royalists they regarded as a dangerous symptom. They had many officers whose fidelity they could more depend on than that of Lambert; but there was no one in whose vigilance and capacity they reposed such confidence. They commissioned him to suppress the rebels. He made incredible haste. Booth imprudently ventured himself out of the walls of Chester, and exposed, in the open field, his raw troops against these hardy veterans. He was soon routed and taken prisoner: his whole army was dispersed; and the Parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the jails with their open or secret enemies. Designs were even entertained of transporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies, lest they should propagate in England children of the same malignant affections with themselves.

suppressed.

This success hastened the ruin of the Parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no less dangerous to them than Booth. A thousand pounds,

which they sent him to buy a jewel, were employed by him in liberalities to his officers. At his instigation they drew up a petition, and transmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honest, if sincerity in folly deserve that honourable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood should be made commander-in-chief, Lambert major-general, Desborow lieutenant-general of the horse, Monk major-general of the foot. To which a demand was added, that no officer should be dismissed from his command but by a court-martial.

The Parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately cashiered Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig proposed the impeachment of Lambert for high treason. Fleetwood's commission was vacated, and the command of the army was vested in seven persons, of whom that general was one. The Parliament voted that they would have no more general officers; and they declared it high treason to levy any money without consent of Parliament.

But these votes were feeble weapons in opposition to the swords of the soldiery. Lambert drew some troops together, in order to decide the controversy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the assistance of the Parliament, was deserted by them. Morley and Moss brought their regiments into Palace-yard, resolute to oppose the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an easy way of disappointing them. He placed his soldiers in the streets which lead to Westminster-hall. When the speaker came in his coach, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were, in like manner, intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, observing that they were exposed to derision, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterprise, a solemn fast had been kept by the army; and it is remarked that this ceremony was the usual prelude to every signal violence which they committed.

13th Oct. Parliament expelled.

The officers found themselves again invested with supreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the substance, however they might bestow on others the empty shadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were offi-

26th Oct.

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cers. These they pretended to invest with sovereign authority; and they called them a *committee of safety*. They spoke every where of summoning a Parliament chosen by the people; but they really took some steps towards assembling a military Parliament, composed of officers elected from every regiment in the service[c]. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; to the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude, beneath those sanctified robbers, whose union and whose divisions would be equally destructive, and who, under pretence of superior illuminations, would soon extirpate, if possible, all private morality, as they had already done all public law and justice, from the British dominions.

1659. Committee of safety.

Foreign affairs.

During the time that England continued in this distracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were hastening towards a composure of those differences by which they had so long been agitated. The Parliament, while it preserved authority, instead of following the imprudent politics of Cromwell, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the Dutch commonwealth, and resolved, in conjunction with that state, to mediate by force an accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambassador Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican. Sidney found the Swedish monarch employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleased that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progress of royal victories, and display, in so singular a manner, the superiority of freedom above tyranny. With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths.—"It is cruel," said he, "that laws should be prescribed me by parricides and pedlars." But his whole army was enclosed in an island, and might be starved by the combined squadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had so nearly gotten possession of it; and having agreed

[c] Ludlow.

to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he soon after died.

The wars between France and Spain were also concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. These animosities had long been carried on between the rival states, even while governed by a sister and brother, who cordially loved and esteemed each other. But politics, which had so long prevailed over these friendly affections, now at last yielded to their influence; and never was the triumph more full and complete. The Spanish Low Countries, if not every part of that monarchy, lay almost entirely at the mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, disordered finances, slow and irresolute counsels; by these resources alone were the dispersed provinces of Spain defended against the vigorous power of France. But the queen-regent, anxious for the fate of her brother, employed her authority with the cardinal to stop the progress of the French conquests, and put an end to a quarrel which, being commenced by ambition, and attended with victory, was at last concluded with moderation. The young monarch of France, though aspiring and warlike in his character, was at this time entirely occupied in the pleasures of love and gallantry, and had passively resigned the reins of empire into the hands of his politic minister; and he remained an unconcerned spectator, while an opportunity for conquest was parted with, which he never was able, during the whole course of his active reign, fully to retrieve.

The ministers of the two crowns, Mazarine and Don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the Isle of Pheasants, a place which was supposed to belong to neither kingdom. The negotiation being brought to an issue by frequent conferences between the ministers, the monarchs themselves agreed to a congress; and these two splendid courts appeared in their full lustre amidst those savage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Theresa, along with him; and giving her in marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tie the incompatible interests of the two monarchies. The French king made a solemn renunciation of every succession which might accrue to him in right

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of his consort; a vain formality, too weak to restrain the ungoverned ambition of princes.

1659.

The affairs of England were in so great disorder, that it was not possible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjust measures with a power which was in such incessant fluctuation. The king, reduced to despair by the failure of all enterprises for his restoration, was resolved to try the weak resource of foreign succours; and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two ministers were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation; and expressed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give assistance to the distressed monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, refused even to see him; and though the king offered to marry the cardinal's niece [d], he could, for the present, obtain nothing but empty professions of respect, and protestations of services. The condition of that monarch, to all the world, seemed totally desperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his service; the scaffold had often streamed with the blood of the more active royalists; the spirits of many were broken with tedious imprisonments; the estates of all were burdened by the fines and confiscations which had been levied upon them; no one durst openly avow himself of that party; and so small did their number seem to a superficial view, that even should the nation recover its liberty, which was deemed nowise probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolution, was now paving the way for the king to mount, in peace and triumph, the throne of his ancestors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of General Monk that this happy change was at last accomplished.

General Monk.

George Monk, to whom the fate was reserved of re-establishing monarchy, and finishing the bloody dissensions of three kingdoms, was the second son of a family in Devonshire, ancient and honourable, but lately, from too great hospitality and expense, somewhat fallen to decay.

[d] K. James's Memoirs.

He betook himself, in early youth, to the profession of arms, and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all her neighbours, he sought military experience in the Low Countries, the great school of war to all the European nations; and he rose to the command of a company under Lord Goring. This company consisted of two hundred men, of whom a hundred were volunteers, often men of family and fortune, sometimes noblemen who lived upon their own income in a splendid manner. Such a military turn at that time prevailed among the English!

When the sound of war was first heard in this island, Monk returned to England, partly desirous of promotion in his native country, partly disgusted with some ill usage from the states, of which he found reason to complain. Upon the Scottish pacification, he was employed by the Earl of Leicester against the Irish rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was soon taken notice of, for his military skill, and for his calm and deliberate valour. Without ostentation, expense, or caresses, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of the soldiery, who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, usually called him *honest George Monk*, an honourable appellation, which they still continued to him even during his greatest elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were inflamed into rage against the opposite faction, he fell under suspicion from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Irish army was called over into England, surmises of this kind had been so far credited, that he had even been suspended from his command, and ordered to Oxford that he might answer the charge laid against him. His established character for truth and sincerity here stood him in great stead; and upon his earnest protestations and declarations, he was soon restored to his regiment, which he joined at the siege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royalists, commanded by Biron, and took Colonel Monk prisoner. He was sent to the Tower, where he endured, above two years, all the rigours of poverty and confinement. The king, however, was so

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mindful as to send him, notwithstanding his own difficulties, a present of one hundred guineas; but it was not till after the royalists were totally subdued that he recovered his liberty. Monk, however distressed, had always refused the most inviting offers from the Parliament: but Cromwell, sensible of his merit, having solicited him to engage in the wars against the Irish, who were considered as rebels both by king and Parliament, he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcileable to the strictest principles of honour. Having once engaged with the Parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himself necessitated to fight, both against the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and against the king himself in Scotland. Upon the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk was left with the supreme command; and by the equality and justice of his administration he was able to give contentment to that restless people, now reduced to subjection by a nation whom they hated. No less acceptable was his authority to the officers and soldiers; and foreseeing that the good-will of the army under his command might some time be of great service to him, he had, with much care and success, cultivated their friendship.

The connexions which he had formed with Cromwell, his benefactor, preserved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of General Monk. When the Long Parliament was restored, Monk, who was not prepared for opposition, acknowledged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been safe to attempt dislodging him. After the army had expelled the Parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, suspected to be the motive of his actions.

Monk declares for the Parliament.

A rivalship had long subsisted between him and Lambert; and every body saw the reason why he opposed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be subverted. But little friendship had ever subsisted between him and

the parliamentary leaders: and it seemed nowise probable that he intended to employ his industry, and spend his blood, for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained designs for the king's restoration, we know not with certainty: it is likely that, as soon as Richard was deposed, he foresaw that, without such an expedient, it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement. His elder and younger brothers were devoted to the royal cause: the Granvilles, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were in the same interests: he himself was intoxicated with no fumes of enthusiasm, and had maintained no connexions with any of the fanatical tribe. His early engagements had been with the king, and he had left that service without receiving any disgust from the royal family. Since he had enlisted himself with the opposite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigour which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty was easy and open; and nothing could be supposed to counterbalance his natural propensity to that measure, except the views of his own elevation, and the prospect of usurping the same grandeur and authority which had been assumed by Cromwell. But from such exorbitant, if not impossible projects, the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, seem to have set him at a distance. Cromwell himself, he always asserted[e], could not long have maintained his usurpation; and any other person, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more difficult to practise arts, of which every one, from experience, was sufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reason as well as candour, to suppose that Monk, as soon as he put himself in motion, had entertained views of effecting the king's restoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound silence even to Charles himself, to be regarded as considerable. His temper was naturally reserved; his circumstances required dissimulation; the king, he knew, was surrounded with spies and traitors; and, upon the whole, it seems hard to interpret that conduct, which

[e] Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 93.

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ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a disparagement of his probity.

1659. Sir John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's service, sent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be seen for some hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partisan of the king's. The doctor, having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there should be occasion, to second his applications. At last the general arrives; the brothers embrace; and, after some preliminary conversation, the doctor opens his business. Monk interrupted him to know whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the subject. "To nobody," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I know to be entirely in your confidence." The general, altering his countenance, turned the discourse, and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother the moment he knew that he had disclosed the secret, though to a man whom he himself could have trusted [f].

His conduct, in all other particulars, was full of the same reserve and prudence; and no less was requisite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any suspicion, he immediately cashiered: Cobbet, who had been sent by the committee of safety, under pretence of communicating their resolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to custody: he drew together the several scattered regiments: he summoned an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of states; and having communicated to them his resolution of marching into England, he received a seasonable, though no great supply of money.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk sent Cloberry and two other commis-

[f] Lord Lansdowne's Defence of General Monk.

sioners to London, with large professions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He desired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle. The committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer. 1659.

Meanwhile these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy; and by refusing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greatest necessities. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the Parliament. A party sent to suppress them was persuaded by their commander to join in the same declaration. The city apprentices rose in a tumult, and demanded a free Parliament. Though they were suppressed by Colonel Hewson, a man who, from the profession of a cobbler, had risen to a high rank in the army, the city still discovered symptoms of the most dangerous discontent. It even established a kind of separate government, and assumed the supreme authority within itself. Admiral Lawson, with his squadron, came into the river, and declared for the Parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portsmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted again to the Parliament. Desborow's regiment, being sent by Lambert to support his friends, no sooner arrived at St. Alban's than it declared for the same assembly. November.

Fleetwood's hand was found too weak and unstable to support this ill-founded fabric, which every where around him was falling into ruins. When he received intelligence of any murmurs among the soldiers, he would prostrate himself in prayer, and could hardly be prevailed with to join the troops. Even when among them, he would, in the midst of any discourse, invite

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them all to prayer, and put himself on his knees before them. If any of his friends exhorted him to more vigour, they could get no other answer, than that God had spitten in his face, and would not hear him. Men now ceased to wonder why Lambert had promoted him to the office of general, and had contented himself with the second command in the army.

26th Dec. Parliament restored.

Lenthal, the speaker, being invited by the officers, again assumed authority, and summoned together the Parliament, which twice before had been expelled with so much reproach and ignominy. As soon as assembled, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; they appointed commissioners for assigning quarters to the army; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to those quarters which were appointed them.

1660. Jan. 1.

Lambert was now in a very disconsolate condition. Monk, he saw, had passed the Tweed at Coldstream, and was advancing upon him. His own soldiers deserted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax, too, he heard, had raised forces behind him, and had possessed himself of York, without declaring his purpose. The last orders of the Parliament so entirely stripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above a hundred horse: all the rest went to their quarters with quietness and resignation; and he himself was, some time after, arrested and committed to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the Parliament, and who had resumed their commands that they might subdue that assembly, were again cashiered and confined to their houses. Sir Harry Vane and some members, who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the Parliament now seemed to be again possessed of more absolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of opposition or control.

The republican party was at this time guided by two men, Hazelrig and Vane, who were of opposite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who possessed greater authority in the Parliament, was haughty, imperious, precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility,

without prudence; qualified only by his noisy, pertinacious obstinacy, to acquire an ascendant in public assemblies. Vane was noted, in all civil transactions, for temper, insinuation, address, and a profound judgment; in all religious speculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthusiast; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inspiration, he deemed himself, to speak in the language of the times, to be a *man above ordinances*, and, by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and unrestrained by any rules which govern inferior mortals. These whimsies, mingling with pride, had so corrupted his excellent understanding, that sometimes he thought himself the person deputed to reign on earth for a thousand years over the whole congregation of the faithful [g].

Monk, though informed of the restoration of the Parliament, from whom he received no orders, still advanced with his army, which was near six thousand men: the scattered forces in England were above five times more numerous. Fairfax, who had resolved to declare for the king, not being able to make the general open his intentions, retired to his own house in Yorkshire. In all counties through which Monk passed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addresses; expressing their earnest desire that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of those liberties which by law were their birthright, but of which, during so many years, they had been fatally bereaved; and that, in order to this salutary purpose, he would prevail, either for the restoring of those members who had been secluded before the king's death, or for the election of a new Parliament, who might legally, and by general consent, again govern the nation. Though Monk pretended not to favour these addresses, that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and situation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy which now equally oppressed the kingdom, the experience of past distractions, the dread of future convulsions, the indignation against military usurpations, against sanctified hypocrisy; all these motives had united every party, except the most desperate, into

g Clarendon.

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ardent wishes for the king's restoration, the only remedy for all these fatal evils.

Scot and Robinson were sent as deputies by the Parliament, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to serve as spies upon him. The city despatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the same time to confirm the general in his inclination to a free Parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavours. The authority of Monk could scarcely secure the parliamentary deputies from those insults which the general hatred and contempt towards their masters drew from men of every rank and denomination.

Monk continued his march with few interruptions till he reached St. Alban's. He there sent a message to the Parliament, desiring them to remove from London those regiments which, though they now professed to return to their duty, had so lately offered violence to that assembly. This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the House. Their fate, they found, must still depend on a mercenary army; and they were as distant as ever from their imaginary sovereignty. However, they found it necessary to comply. The soldiers made more difficulty. A mutiny arose among them. One regiment, in particular, quartered in Somerset-house, expressly refused to yield their place to the northern army. But those officers who would gladly, on such an occasion, have inflamed the quarrel, were absent or in confinement; and for want of leaders, the soldiers were at last, with great reluctance, obliged to submit. Monk with his army took quarters in Westminster.

Feb. 3. Monk enters London.

The general was introduced to the House, and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent services which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent, not an eloquent speaker. He told the House, that the services which he had been enabled to perform were no more than his duty, and merited not such praises as those with which they were pleased to honour him: that among many persons of greater worth, who bore their commission, he had been employed as the instrument of Providence for effecting their restoration; but he considered this service as a step only to more important services, which

Feb. 6.

it was *their* part to render to the nation: that while on his march, he observed all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earnest expectation of a settlement, after the violent convulsions to which they had been exposed; and to have no prospect of that blessing but from the dissolution of the present Parliament, and from the summoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpose; but that he, sensible of his duty, had still told the petitioners, that the Parliament itself, which was now free, and would soon be full, was the best judge of all these measures, and that the whole community ought to acquiesce in their determination: that though he expressed himself in this manner to the people, he must now freely inform the House, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehensive would their plan prove, and the more satisfaction would it give to the nation: and that it was sufficient for public security, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded, since the principles of these factions were destructive either of government or of liberty.

This speech, containing matter which was both agreeable and disagreeable to the House as well as to the nation, still kept every one in suspense, and upheld that uncertainty in which it seemed the general's interest to retain the public. But it was impossible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful situation: the people, as well as the Parliament, pushed matters to a decision. During the late convulsions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the Parliament, upon their assembling, renewed the ordinances for impositions, yet so little reverence did the people pay to those legislators, that they gave very slow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common-council of London flatly refused to submit to an assessment required of them; and declared that, till a free and lawful Parliament imposed taxes, they never should deem it their duty to make any payment. This resolution, if yielded to, would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the Parliament: they were determined, therefore, upon this

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occasion, to make at once a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience.

1660. 9th Feb.

Monk received orders to march into the city; to seize twelve persons, the most obnoxious to the Parliament; to remove the posts and chains from all the streets; and to take down and break the portcullises and gates of the city: and very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of these violent orders. To the great surprise and consternation of all men, Monk prepared himself for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonstrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proscribed persons, whom he sent to the Tower; with all the circumstances of contempt, he broke the gates and portcullises; and having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster.

No sooner had the general leisure to reflect, than he found, that this last measure, instead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reserve, and laying himself, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical Parliament whose power had long been odious, as their persons contemptible, to all men. He resolved, therefore, before it were too late, to repair the dangerous mistake into which he had been betrayed, and to show the whole world, still more without reserve, that he meant no longer to be the minister of violence and usurpation. After complaining of the odious service in which he had been employed, he wrote a letter to the House, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition presented by Praise-god Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling of their House, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new Parliament. Having despatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his sincerity, he marched with his

Feb. 11.

Declares for a free Parliament.

army into the city, and desired Allen, the mayor, to summon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; assured them of his perseverance in the measures which he had adopted; and desired that they might mutually plight their faith for a strict union between city and army in every enterprise for the happiness and settlement of the commonwealth. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

It would be difficult to describe the joy and exultation which displayed itself throughout the city, as soon as intelligence was conveyed of this happy measure embraced by the general. The prospect of peace, concord, liberty, justice, broke forth at once from amidst the deepest darkness in which the nation had ever been involved. The view of past calamities no longer presented dismal prognostics of the future: it tended only to enhance the general exultation for those scenes of happiness and tranquillity which all men now confidently promised themselves. The royalists, the presbyterians, forgetting all animosities, mingled in common joy and transport, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of false and factious tyrants by their calamitous divisions. The populace, more outrageous in their festivity, made the air resound with acclamations, and illuminated every street with signals of jollity and triumph. Applauses of the general were everywhere intermingled with detestation against the Parliament. The most ridiculous inventions were adopted, in order to express this latter passion. At every bonfire, rumps were roasted, and where these could no longer be found, pieces of flesh were cut into that shape; and the funeral of the Parliament (the populace exclaimed) was celebrated by these symbols of hatred and derision.

The Parliament, though in the agonies of despair, made still one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They sent a committee with offers to gain the general. He refused to hear them, except in the presence of some of the secluded members. Though several persons, desperate from guilt and fanaticism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his government, he would not hearken to such wild pro-

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posals. Having fixed a close correspondence with the city, and established its militia in hands whose fidelity could be relied on, he returned with his army to Westminster, and pursued every proper measure for the settlement of the nation. While he still pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large steps towards the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy.

Feb. 21. Secluded members restored.

The secluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the House, and, finding no longer any obstruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: most of the independents left the place. The restored members first repealed all the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they gave Sir George Booth and his party their liberty and estates; they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers; they fixed an assessment for the support of the fleet and army; and having passed these votes for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new Parliament. This last measure had been previously concerted with the general, who knew that all men, however different in affections, expectations, and designs, united in the detestation of the long Parliament.

March 16. Long Parliament dissolved.

A council of state was established, consisting of men of character and moderation; most of whom, during the civil wars, had made a great figure among the presbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into such hands as would promote order and settlement. These, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the more numerous, though dispersed army, of whose inclinations there was still much reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more obnoxious officers, and bringing the troops to a state of discipline and obedience.

Overton, governor of Hull, had declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of King Jesus; but when Alured produced the authority of Parliament for his delivering the place to Colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conspiracy with Sir George Booth; and, pretending want of provisions, had sailed from the Sound

towards the coast of England, with an intention of supporting that insurrection of the royalists. On his arrival, he received the news of Booth's defeat, and the total failure of the enterprise. The great difficulties to which the Parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country house. The council of state now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet, and secured the naval as well as military force in hands favourable to the public settlement.

Notwithstanding all these steps which were taken towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened. To call a free Parliament, and to restore the royal family, were visibly, in the present disposition of the kingdom, one and the same measure: yet would not the general declare, otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interests; and nothing but necessity extorted at last the confession from him. His silence, in the commencement of his enterprise, ought to be no objection to his sincerity; since he maintained the same reserve at a time when, consistent with common sense, he could have entertained no other purpose [h].

There was one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary studious disposition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the strictest intimacy with him. With this friend alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterprise which he had projected. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied to Morrice for access to the general; but received for answer, that the general desired him to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refused to deliver his message to any but Monk himself; and this cautious politician, finding him now a person whose secrecy could be safely trusted, admitted him to his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he scrupled to commit any thing to

[h] See note [T], at the end of the volume.

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writing[i]: he delivered only a verbal message by Granville, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, and retire into Holland. He was apprehensive lest Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed these directions, and very narrowly escaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and respect, been arrested by the Spaniards.

Lockhart, who was governor of Dunkirk, and nowise averse to the king's service, was applied to on this occasion. The state of England was set before him, the certainty of the restoration represented, and the prospect of great favour displayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom, and receive the king into his fortress. Lockhart still replied, that his commission was derived from an English Parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the same authority[k]. This scruple, though in the present emergence it approaches towards superstition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn.

The elections for the new Parliament went everywhere in favour of the king's party. This was one of those popular torrents, where the most indifferent, or even the most averse, are transported with the general passion, and zealously adopt the sentiments of the community to which they belong. The enthusiasts themselves seemed to be disarmed of their fury; and between despair and astonishment, gave way to those measures, which they found it would be impossible for them, by their utmost efforts, to withstand. The presbyterians and the royalists being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the king's restoration. The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party, and some zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of those conditions which had been required of the late king in the treaty of Newport; but the general opinion seemed to condemn all those rigorous and jealous capitulations with their sovereign. Harassed with convulsions and disorders, men

[i] Lansdowne. Clarendon. [k] Burnet.

ardently longed for repose, and were terrified at the mention of negotiations or delays, which might afford opportunity to the seditious army still to breed new confusion. The passion too for liberty having been carried to such violent extremes, and having produced such bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public was less zealous in a cause which was become odious on account of the calamities which had so long attended it. After the legal concessions made by the late king, the constitution seemed to be sufficiently secured; and the additional conditions insisted on, as they had been framed during the greatest ardour of the contest, amounted rather to annihilation than a limitation of monarchy. Above all, the general was averse to the mention of conditions; and resolved that the crown which he intended to restore should be conferred on the king entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther scruple, therefore, or jealousy, the people gave their voice in elections for such as they knew to entertain sentiments favourable to monarchy; and all paid court to a party which, they foresaw, was soon to govern the nation. Though the Parliament had voted, that no one should be elected who had himself, or whose father had, borne arms for the late king, little regard was anywhere paid to this ordinance. The leaders of the presbyterians, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Fairfax, Lord Robarts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Annesley, Lewis, were determined to atone for past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal interests; and from former merits, successes, and sufferings, they had acquired with their party the highest credit and authority.

The affairs of Ireland were in a condition no less favourable to the king. As soon as Monk declared against the English army, he despatched emissaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the same measures. Lord Broghil, president of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, went so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king, and to promise their assistance for his restoration. In conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government and ex-

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cluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the Rump Parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the committee of safety. They kept themselves in readiness to serve the king, but made no declarations till they should see the turn which affairs took in England.

But all these promising views had almost been blasted by an untoward accident. Upon the admission of the secluded members, the republican party, particularly the late king's judges, were seized with the justest despair, and endeavoured to infuse the same sentiments into the army. By themselves or their emissaries, they represented to the soldiers, that all those brave actions which had been performed during the war, and which were so meritorious in the eyes of the Parliament, would no doubt be regarded as the deepest crimes by the royalists, and would expose the army to the severest vengeance: that in vain did that party make professions of moderation and lenity; the king's death, the execution of so many of the nobility and gentry, the sequestration and imprisonment of the rest, were in their eyes crimes so deep, and offences so personal, as must be prosecuted with the most implacable resentment: that the loss of all arrears, and the cashiering of every officer and soldier, were the lightest punishment which must be expected: after the dispersion of the army, no farther protection remained to them, either for life or property, but the clemency of enraged victors: and that, even if the most perfect security could be obtained, it were inglorious to be reduced, by treachery and deceit, to subjection under a foe who, in the open field, had so often yielded to their superior valour.

After these suggestions had been infused into the army, Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the council of state into great consternation. They knew Lambert's vigour and activity; they were acquainted with his popularity in the army; they were sensible, that, though the soldiers had lately deserted him, they sufficiently expressed their remorse and their detestation of those who, by false professions, they found, had so egregiously deceived them. It seemed necessary, therefore, to employ the greatest celerity in suppressing so dangerous a foe. Colonel In-

goldsby, who had been one of the late king's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cause, was dispatched after him. He overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet assembled but four troops of horse. One of them deserted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himself, endeavouring to make his escape, was seized by Ingoldsby, to whom he made submissions not suitable to his former character of spirit and valour. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party, were taken prisoners with him. All the roads were full of soldiers hastening to join them. In a few days they had been formidable; and it was thought, that it might prove dangerous for Monk himself to have assembled any considerable body of his republican army for their suppression; so that nothing could be more happy than the sudden extinction of this rising flame. CHAP. LXII. 1660. 22d April.

When the Parliament met, they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker; a man who, though he had for some time concurred with the late Parliament, had long been esteemed affectionate to the king's service. The great dangers incurred during former usurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and none dared, for some days, to make any mention of the king. The members exerted their spirit chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of their late sovereign. At last the general, having sufficiently sounded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: the letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read; without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer: and in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published. 25th April. 1st May. The restoration.

The people, freed from the state of suspense in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixed effusions of joy; and displayed a

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social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men, particularly of Oughtred, the mathematician, who died of pleasure, when informed of this happy and surprising event. The king's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by Parliament: it promised liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of Parliament which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered for ensuring that indulgence: it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations; and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the same pay which they then enjoyed.

The Lords, perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom, as well as the Commons, was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. They found the doors of their House open; and all were admitted; even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

8th May.

The two houses attended, while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar. The Commons voted five hundred pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious message: a present of fifty thousand pounds was conferred on the king, ten thousand pounds on the Duke of York, five thousand pounds on the Duke of Gloucester. A committee of Lords and Commons was despatched to invite his majesty to return and take possession of the government. The rapidity with which all these events were conducted was marvellous, and discovered the passionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience appeared, and such an emulation, in Lords and Commons, and city, who should make the most lively expressions of their joy and duty, that, as the noble historian expresses it, a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so

many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects. The king himself said, that it must surely have been his own fault that he had not sooner taken possession of the throne, since he found every body so zealous in promoting his happy restoration.

The respect of foreign powers soon followed the submission of the king's subjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark in some of her maritime towns. France made protestations of affection and regard, and offered Calais for the same purpose. The states-general sent deputies with a like friendly invitation. The king resolved to accept of this last offer. The people of the republic bore him a cordial affection; and politics no longer restrained their magistrates from promoting and expressing that sentiment. As he passed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended by numerous crowds, and was received with the loudest acclamations; as if themselves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now restored to peace and security. The states-general in a body, and afterwards the states of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greatest solemnity. Every person of distinction was ambitious of being introduced to his majesty; all ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, or states, repaired to him, and professed the joy of their masters in his behalf: so that one would have thought, that from the united efforts of Christendom had been derived this revolution, which diffused every where such universal satisfaction.

The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the Parliament, but had persuaded the officers, of themselves, to tender their duty to his majesty. The Duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral.

When the king disembarked at Dover, he was met by the general, whom he cordially embraced. Never subject, in fact, probably in his intentions, had deserved better of his king and country. In the space of a few months, without effusion of blood, by his cautious and disinterested conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three kingdoms which had long been torn with the most

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violent convulsions: and having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions offered him by the king, as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely restored his injured master to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

29th May.

At this era, it may be proper to stop a moment, and take a general survey of the age, so far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts, and sciences. The chief use of history is, that it affords materials for disquisitions of this nature; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

Manners and arts.

No people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners, than did the English nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties exceeded any thing which we can now imagine: had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the ancient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on palpable injustice, and was supported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and despair into such sanguinary measures; and if these furious expedients had been employed on one side, revenge would naturally have pushed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No social intercourse was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royalists, though oppressed, harassed, persecuted, disdained all affinity with their masters. The more they were reduced to subjection, the greater superiority did they affect above those usurpers, who by violence and injustice had acquired an ascendant over them.

The manners of the two factions were as opposite as those of the most distant nations. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," said a parliamentarian to a royalist, "are very

dissolute and debauched." "True," replied the royalist, "they have the infirmities of men: but your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils; tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride[l]." Riot and disorder, it is certain, notwithstanding the good example set them by Charles I., prevailed very much among his partisans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom excesses are less pernicious than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themselves in all pleasures, particularly those of the table. Opposition to the rigid preciseness of their antagonists increased their inclination to good fellowship; and the character of a man of pleasure was affected among them, as a sure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiscations and sequestrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careless and social jollity. "As much as hope is superior to fear," said a poor and merry cavalier, "so much is our situation preferable to that of our enemies. We laugh while they tremble."

The gloomy enthusiasm which prevailed among the parliamentary party is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history; and the most instructive, as well as entertaining, to a philosophical mind. All recreations were, in a manner, suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents. Horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities[m]. Even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian: the sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras. Though the English nation be naturally candid and sincere, hypocrisy prevailed among them beyond any example in ancient or modern times. The religious hypocrisy, it may be remarked, is of a peculiar nature; and being generally unknown to the person himself, though more dangerous, it implies less falsehood than any other species of insincerity. The Old Testament, preferably to the New, was the favourite of all the sectaries. The eastern poetical style of that com-

[l] Sir Philip Warwick.

[m] Killing no Murder.

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position made it more easily susceptible of a turn which was agreeable to them.

We have had occasion, in the course of this work, to speak of many of the sects which prevailed in England: to enumerate them all would be impossible. The quakers, however, are so considerable, at least so singular, as to merit some attention; and as they renounced by principle the use of arms, they never made such a figure in public transactions as to enter into any part of our narrative.

The religion of the quakers, like most others, began with the lowest vulgar, and, in its progress, came at last to comprehend people of better quality and fashion. George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire, in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and was himself bound apprentice to a shoemaker. Feeling a stronger impulse towards spiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country clothed in a leathern doublet, a dress which he long affected, as well for its singularity as its cheapness. That he might wean himself from sublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never dwelt a moment in one place; lest habit should beget new connexions, and depress the sublimity of his aërial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement than his Bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he soon advanced to another state of spiritual progress, and began to pay less regard even to that divine composition itself. His own breast, he imagined, was full of the same inspiration which had guided the prophets and apostles themselves; and by this inward light must every spiritual obscurity be cleared, by this living spirit must the dead letter be animated.

When he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of self-applause soon dissipate, if not continually supplied by the admiration of others; and he began to seek proselytes. Proselytes were easily gained at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the most extra-

vagant modes of it were sure to be most popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and ostentation, Fox and his disciples, from a superior pride and ostentation, carefully rejected: even the ordinary rites of civility were shunned, as the nourishment of carnal vanity and self-conceit. They would bestow no titles of distinction: the name of *friend* was the only salutation with which they indiscriminately accosted every one. To no person would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any signs of reverence. Instead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of speaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the simplicity of ancient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expressions which, on any consideration, they could be brought to employ.

Dress too, a material circumstance, distinguished the members of this sect. Every superfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched: no plaits to their coats; no buttons to their sleeves; no lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was universally rejected by them with horror and detestation.

The violent enthusiasm of this sect, like all high passions, being too strong for the weak nerves to sustain, threw the preachers into convulsions, and shakings, and distortions in their limbs; and they thence received the appellation of *quakers*. Amidst the great toleration which was then granted to all sects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this sect alone suffered persecution. From the fervour of their zeal, the quakers broke into churches, disturbed public worship, and harassed the minister and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magistrate, they refused him all reverence, and treated him with the same familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad houses, sometimes into prisons; sometimes whipped, sometimes pilloried. The patience and fortitude with which they suffered begat compassion, admiration, esteem[n]. A supernatural spirit

[n] The following story is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Hasington in Northumberland coming to the minister on the sabbath day, and speaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almost killed one or two of them, who, going out, fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who

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was believed to support them under those sufferings which the ordinary state of humanity, freed from the illusions of passion, is unable to sustain.

The quakers crept into the army; but as they preached universal peace, they seduced the military zealots from their profession, and would soon, had they been suffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the saints. These attempts became a fresh ground of persecution, and a new reason for their progress among the people.

Morals with this sect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the same degree of extravagance as religion. Give a quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: ask his cloak, he gave you his coat also: the greatest interest could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to swear even to the truth: he never asked more for his wares than the precise sum which he was determined to accept. This last maxim is laudable, and continues still to be religiously observed by that sect.

No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred to ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, and positive institutions. Even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Christianity, were disdainfully rejected by them. The very sabbath they profaned. The holiness of churches they derided; and they would give to these sacred edifices no other appellation than that of *shops* or *steeple-houses*. No priests were admitted into their sect: every one had received from immediate illumination a character much superior to the sacerdotal. When they met for divine worship, each rose up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inspirations of the Holy Ghost: women were also admitted to teach the brethren, and were considered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the Spirit. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to speak at once; sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregations.

Some quakers attempted to fast forty days in imitation of Christ, and one of them bravely perished in the experiment [o]. A female quaker came naked into the

knew not what they did; and afterwards speaking to the people, so convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

[o] Whitlocke, p. 624.

church where the protector sat; being moved by the Spirit, as she said, to appear *as a sign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that clothes were to be rejected, together with other superfluities. The sufferings which followed the practice of this doctrine were a species of persecution not well calculated for promoting it.

James Naylor was a quaker noted for blasphemy, or rather madness, in the time of the protectorship. He fancied that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real saviour of the world; and in consequence of this frenzy he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Messiah related in the evangelists. As he bore a resemblance to the common pictures of Christ, he allowed his beard to grow in a like form; he raised a person from the dead [p]; he was ministered unto by women [q]; he entered Bristol, mounted on a horse, I suppose from the difficulty in that place of finding an ass; his disciples spread their garments before him, and cried, "Hosannah to the highest! holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth!" When carried before the magistrate, he would give no other answer to all questions than "Thou hast said it." What is remarkable, the Parliament thought that the matter deserved their attention. Near ten days they spent in inquiries and debates about him [r]. They condemned him to be pilloried, whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. All these severities he bore with the usual patience. So far his delusion supported him. But the sequel spoiled all. He was sent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, and debarred from all his disciples, male and female. His illusion dissipated, and after some time he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his usual occupations.

The chief taxes in England, during the time of the commonwealth, were the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land [s], and commissioners

[p] Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 399. One Dorcas Earberry made oath before a magistrate, that she had been dead two days, and that Naylor had brought her to life.

[q] Idem, ibid. [r] Thurloe, vol. v. p. 708. [s] Scobel, p. 419.

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were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month in England; the lowest was thirty-five thousand. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes ten thousand pounds a month [t]; commonly six thousand. Those in Ireland nine thousand. At a medium this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat, as well as beer, ale, strong waters, and many other commodities. After the king was subdued, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656 [u]. In 1650, commissioners were appointed to levy both customs and excises. Cromwell in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thousand pounds were then offered, both for customs and excise; a greater sum than had ever been levied by the commissioners [w]. The whole of the taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a year; a sum which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king [x]. Sequestrations, compositions, sale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded also considerable sums, but very difficult to be estimated. Church lands are said to have been sold for a million [y]. None of these were ever valued at above ten or eleven years' purchase [z]. The estates of delinquents amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds a year [a]. Cromwell died more than two millions in debt [b]; though the Parliament had left him in the treasury above five hundred thousand pounds, and in stores the value of seven hundred thousand pounds [c].

The committee of danger in April, 1648, voted to raise the army to forty thousand men [d]. The same year, the pay of the army was estimated at eighty thousand pounds a month [e]. The establishment of the army in

[t] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 476.
[u] Scobel, p. 376.
[w] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 425.
[x] It appears that the late king's revenue, from 1637 to the meeting of the Long Parliament, was only nine hundred thousand pounds, of which two hundred thousand may be esteemed illegal.
[y] Dr. Walker, p. 14.
[z] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 753.
[a] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 414.
[b] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 667.
[c] World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell.
[d] Whitlocke, p. 298.
[e] Ibid. p. 378.

1652 was, in Scotland, fifteen thousand foot, two thousand five hundred and eighty horse, five hundred and sixty dragoons; in England, four thousand seven hundred foot, two thousand five hundred and twenty horse, garrisons six thousand one hundred and fifty-four: in all, thirty-one thousand five hundred and fourteen, besides officers [f]. The army in Scotland was afterwards considerably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much short of twenty thousand men; so that, upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a standing army of more than fifty thousand men. Its pay amounted to a yearly sum of one million forty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifteen pounds [g]. Afterwards the protector reduced the establishment to thirty thousand men, as appears by the Instrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprises obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of thirteen thousand two hundred and fifty-eight men, in Scotland nine thousand five hundred and six, in Ireland about ten thousand men [h]. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling a day [i]. The horse had two shillings and sixpence; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family enlisted in the protector's cavalry [k]. No wonder that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so gainful a profession.

At the time of the battle of Worcester, the Parliament had on foot about eighty thousand men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members who had assumed the government, never at any time appeared so conspicuous [l].

The whole revenue of the public, during the protectorship of Richard, was estimated at one million eight hundred and sixty-eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds; his annual expenses at two million two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from Parliament [m].

[f] Journal, 2d December, 1652. [g] Idem, ibid. [h] Journal, 6th of April, 1659.
[i] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395, vol. ii. p. 414. [k] Gumble's Life of Monk.
[l] Whitlocke, p. 477. [m] Journal, 7th April, 1659.

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The commerce and industry of England increased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: the trade to the East Indies and to Guinea became considerable. The English possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey[n]. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions which afterwards prevailed; though it soon recovered after the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: the Spanish war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants[o]; and commerce has ever since been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordinance of Parliament during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty. Interest in 1650 was reduced to six per cent.

The customs in England, before the civil wars, are said to have amounted to five hundred thousand pounds a year[p]: a sum ten times greater than during the best period in Queen Elizabeth's reign; but there is probably some exaggeration in this matter.

The post-house in 1653 was farmed at ten thousand pounds a year, which was deemed a considerable sum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half their present postage.

From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined six million nine hundred thousand and forty-two pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to seven million seven hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and twenty-one pounds[q]. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the registers of the mint, that between 1558 and

[n] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 421. 423. 430. 467. [o] Clarendon.
[p] Lewis Robert's Treasure of Traffick. [q] Happy Future State of England.

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1659, there had been coined nineteen million eight hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and seventy-six pounds in gold and silver.

The first mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660 [r]. Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflower, and a variety of salads, were about the same time introduced into England [s].

The colony of New England increased by means of the puritans, who fled thither in order to free themselves from the constraint which Laud and the church party had imposed upon them; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it is supposed to have contained twenty-five thousand souls [t]. For a like reason the Catholics, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

Before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taste began to prevail in the nation. The king loved pictures, sometimes handled the pencil himself, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign masters were bought up at a vast price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who were touched by the same elegant passion. Vandyke was caressed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was master of the king's buildings; though afterwards persecuted by the Parliament, on account of the part which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying some orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houses in order to make room for that edifice. Laws, who had not been surpassed by any musician before him, was much beloved by the king, who called him the father of music. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was thought by some more anxious with regard to purity of style than became a monarch [u]. Notwithstanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in such magnificence, that he possessed four-and-twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and completely furnished, insomuch that, when he removed from one to

[r] Anderson, vol. ii. p. 111.
[s] Idem, ibid.
[t] British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.
[u] Burnet.

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another, he was not obliged to transport any thing along with him.

Cromwell, though himself a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, notwithstanding his being a bishop, received a pension from him. Marvel and Milton were in his service. Waller, who was his relation, was caressed by him. That poet always said, that the protector himself was not so wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a year to the divinity professor at Oxford; and an historian mentions this bounty as an instance of his love of literature [w]. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

Civil wars, especially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavourable to the arts of eloquence and composition; or rather, by presenting nobler and more interesting objects, they amply compensate that tranquillity of which they bereave the Muses. The speeches of the parliamentary orators during this period are of a strain much superior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then first put to trial. It must, however, be confessed, that the wretched fanaticism which so much infected the parliamentary party was no less destructive of taste and science, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proscribed; human learning despised; freedom of inquiry detested; cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged. It was an article positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all playhouses should for ever be abolished. Sir John Davenant, says Whitlocke [x], speaking of the year 1658, published an opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times. All the king's furniture was put to sale: his pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: the cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at three hundred pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curiosities was sold at above fifty thousand [y]. Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces, and the materials of them sold. The very library and medals at St. James's were intended

[w] Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 123.
[x] P. 639.
[y] Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 83.

by the generals to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry quartered near London; but Selden, apprehensive of the loss, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian; this expedient saved that valuable collection.

It is, however, remarkable, that the greatest genius by far that shone out in England during this period was deeply engaged with these fanatics, and even prostituted his pen in theological controversy, in factious disputes, and in justifying the most violent measures of the party. This was John Milton, whose poems are admirable, though liable to some objections; his prose writings disagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal; his Paradise Lost, his Comus, and a few others, shine out amidst some flat and insipid compositions; even in the Paradise Lost, his capital performance, there are very long passages, amounting to near a third of the work, almost wholly destitute of harmony and elegance, nay of all vigour of imagination. This natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increased by the inequalities in his subject; of which some parts are of themselves the most lofty that can enter into human conception, others would have required the most laboured elegance of composition to support them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble subject, is the most wonderfully sublime of any poet in any language, Homer and Lucretius and Tasso not excepted. More concise than Homer, more simple than Tasso, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a later age, and learned to polish some rudeness in his verses; had he enjoyed better fortune, and possessed leisure to watch the returns of genius in himself, he had attained the pinnacle of perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the reputation which he deserved. His Paradise Lost was long neglected: prejudices against an apologist for the regicides, and against a work not wholly purged from the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about

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twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into request; and Tonson, in his dedication of a smaller edition, speaks of it as a work just beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he seems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke[z] talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obscure Whitlocke himself, though lord-keeper and ambassador, and indeed a man of great abilities and merit, has become in comparison of Milton.

It is not strange that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: it is more to be admired that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honourable in the king, and so advantageous to posterity. It is said that he had saved Davenant's life during the protectorship; and Davenant, in return, afforded him like protection after the restoration, being sensible that men of letters ought always to regard their sympathy of taste as a more powerful band of union than any difference of party or opinion as a source of animosity. It was during a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton composed his wonderful poem, which not only surpassed all the performances of his contemporaries, but all the compositions which had flowed from his pen during the vigour of his age and the height of his prosperity. This circumstance is not the least remarkable of all those which attend that great genius. He died in 1674, aged sixty-six.

Waller was the first refiner of English poetry, at least of English rhyme; but his performances still abound with many faults, and what is more material, they contain but feeble and superficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity, are their ruling character: they aspire not to the sublime; still less to the pathetic. They treat of love, without making us feel any tenderness; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric, however, on Cromwell, contains more force than we should expect from the other compositions of this poet.

[z] P. 638.

Waller was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to the court, and lived in the best company. He possessed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the House of Commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage, than of honour or integrity. He died in 1687, aged eighty-two.

Cowley is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taste of his age; but had he lived even in the purest times of Greece or Rome, he must always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verses are only known to be such by the rhyme which terminates them. In his rugged untuneable numbers are conveyed sentiments the most strained and distorted, long-spun allegories, distant allusions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and vigour of thought, sometimes break out amidst those unnatural conceptions; a few anacreontics surprise us by their ease and gaiety: his prose writings please, by the honesty and goodness which they express, and even by their spleen and melancholy. This author was much more praised and admired during his lifetime, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton. He died in 1667, aged forty-nine.

Sir John Denham, in his Cooper's Hill, (for none of his other poems merit attention,) has a loftiness and vigour which had not before him been attained by any English poet who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that measure retarded its improvement. Shakspeare, whose tragic scenes are sometimes so wonderfully forcible and expressive, is a very indifferent poet when he attempts to rhyme. Precision and neatness are chiefly wanting in Denham. He died in 1688, aged seventy-three.

No English author in that age was more celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes; in our time he is much neglected: a lively instance how precarious all reputations founded on reasoning and philosophy! A pleasant comedy which paints the manners of the age, and exposes a faithful picture of nature, is a durable work, and is transmitted to the latest posterity; but a system, whether physical or metaphysical, commonly owes its success to its novelty, and is no sooner canvassed with im-

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partiality than its weakness is discovered. Hobbes's politics are fitted only to promote tyranny, and his ethics to encourage licentiousness. Though an enemy to religion he partakes nothing of the spirit of scepticism; but is as positive and dogmatical as if human reason, and his reason in particular, could attain a thorough conviction in these subjects. Clearness and propriety of style are the chief excellencies of Hobbes's writings. In his own person he is represented to have been a man of virtue; a character nowise surprising, notwithstanding his libertine system of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault with which he is reproached: he lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himself to the thoughts of death. The boldness of his opinions and sentiments forms a remarkable contrast to this part of his character. He died in 1679, aged ninety-one.

Harrington's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily subjects of debate and conversation; and even in our time it is justly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The style of this author wants ease and fluency; but the good matter which his work contains makes compensation. He died in 1677, aged sixty-six.

Harvey is entitled to the glory of having made, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital discovery in one of the most important branches of science. He had also the happiness of establishing at once his theory on the most solid and convincing proofs; and posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity. His treatise of the circulation of the blood is farther embellished by that warmth and spirit which so naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favoured by Charles I. who gave him the liberty of using all the deer in the royal forests for perfecting his discoveries on the generation of animals. It was remarked, that no physician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age, ever, to the end of his life, adopted Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and that his practice in London

diminished extremely, from the reproach drawn upon him by that great and signal discovery. So slow is the progress of truth in every science, even when not opposed by factious or superstitious prejudices! He died in 1657, aged seventy-nine.

This age affords great materials for history, but did not produce any accomplished historian. Clarendon, however, will always be esteemed an entertaining writer, even independent of our curiosity to know the facts which he relates. His style is prolix and redundant, and suffocates us by the length of its periods; but it discovers imagination and sentiment, and pleases us at the same time that we disapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality; for he seems perpetually anxious to apologize for the king; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: he was too honest a man to falsify the former; his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter. An air of probity and goodness runs through the whole work, as these qualities did, in reality, embellish the whole life of the author. He died in 1674, aged sixty-six.

These are the chief performances which engage the attention of posterity. Those numberless productions, with which the press then abounded,—the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the subtilties of theology,—all these have long ago sunk in silence and oblivion. Even a writer such as Selden, whose learning was his chief excellency; or Chillingworth, an acute disputant against the Papists; will scarcely be ranked among the classics of our language or country.

CHAPTER LXIII.

CHARLES II.

New Ministry.—Act of Indemnity.—Settlement of the Revenue.—Trial and Execution of the Regicides.—Dissolution of the Convention Parliament.—Prelacy restored.—Insurrection of the Millenarians.—Affairs of Scotland.—Conference at the Savoy.—Arguments for and against a Comprehension.—A new Parliament.—Bishops' Seats restored.—Corporation Act.—Act of Uniformity.—King's Marriage.—Trial of Vane—and Execution.—Presbyterian Clergy ejected.—Dunkirk sold to the French.—Declaration of Indulgence.—Decline of Clarendon's Credit.

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Charles II. when he ascended the throne of his ancestors, was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harsh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the person amiable, without preventing that authority and regard which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderness was excited by the memory of his recent adversities: his present prosperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy: and as the sudden and surprising revolution, which restored him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty, no prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumstances, or was more blest with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects.

This popularity the king, by his whole demeanour and behaviour, was well qualified to support and to increase. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety, accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability which was capable of reconciling the

most determined republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of resentment, as well from the natural lenity as carelessness of his temper, he ensured pardon to the most guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favour to his most violent opponents. From the whole tenor of his actions and discourse, he seemed desirous of losing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country.

New ministry.

Into his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: the presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honour. Annesley was also created Earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis, Lord Hollis. The Earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and Lord Say, privy-seal. Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

Admiral Montague, created Earl of Sandwich, was entitled, from his recent services, to great favour; and he obtained it. Monk, created Duke of Albemarle, had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude; yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of distinction. Charles's disposition, free from jealousy; and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never overrated his merits; prevented all those disgusts which naturally arise in so delicate a situation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extensive, and his parts were more solid than shining. Though he had distinguished himself in inferior stations, he was imagined, upon familiar acquaintance, not to be wholly equal to those great achievements which fortune, united to prudence, had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a scene of life to which he had never been accustomed. Morrice, his friend, was created secretary of state, and was supported more by his patron's credit than by his own abilities or experience.

But the choice which the king at first made of his principal ministers and favourites was the circumstance which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and pro-

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gnosticated future happiness and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister; the Marquis, created Duke, of Ormond, was steward of the household; the Earl of Southampton, high treasurer; Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. These men, united together in friendship, and combining in the same laudable inclinations, supported each other's credit, and pursued the interests of the public.

Agreeable to the present prosperity of public affairs was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The melancholy austerity of the fanatics fell into discredit, together with their principles. The royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition, found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and fashion to their manners. From past experience it had sufficiently appeared, that gravity was very distinct from wisdom, formality from virtue, and hypocrisy from religion. The king himself, who bore a strong propensity to pleasure, served, by his powerful and engaging example, to banish those sour and malignant humours which had hitherto engendered such confusion; and though the just bounds were undoubtedly passed, when men returned from their former extreme, yet was the public happy in exchanging vices pernicious to society for disorders hurtful chiefly to the individuals themselves who were guilty of them.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement; but the Parliament immediately fell into good correspondence with the king, and they treated him with the same dutiful regard which had usually been paid to his predecessors. Being summoned without the king's consent, they received, at first, only the title of a convention; and it was not till he passed an act for that purpose, that they were called by the appellation of Parliament. All judicial proceedings, transacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were ratified by a new law: and both Houses, acknowledging the guilt of the former rebellion, gratefully received, in their own name, and in that of all the subjects, his majesty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

1660. Act of indemnity.

The king, before his restoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to despair, and at the same time unwilling that such enormous crimes as had been committed should receive a total impunity, had expressed himself very cautiously in his declaration of Breda, and had promised an indemnity to all criminals but such as should be excepted by Parliament. He now issued a proclamation, declaring that such of the late king's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves: some were taken in their flight: others escaped beyond sea.

The Commons seem to have been more inclined to lenity than the Lords. The Upper House, inflamed by the ill usage which they had received, were resolved, besides the late king's judges, to except every one who had sitten in any high court of justice. Nay, the Earl of Bristol moved, that no pardon might be granted to those who had anywise contributed to the king's death. So wide an exception, in which every one who had served the Parliament might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of some court artifice or intrigue. But the king soon dissipated these fears. He came to the House of Peers, and in the most earnest terms pressed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the necessity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promise; a promise, he said, which he would ever regard as sacred, since to it he probably owed the satisfaction, which at present he enjoyed, of meeting his people in Parliament. This measure of the king's was received with great applause and satisfaction.

After repeated solicitations, the act of indemnity passed both Houses, and soon received the royal assent. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death were there excepted: even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were also excepted. St. John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sitten in any illegal high court of justice were dis-

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abled from bearing offices. These were all the severities which followed such furious civil wars and convulsions.

1660. Settlement of the revenue.

The next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. In this work, the Parliament had regard to public freedom, as well as to the support of the crown. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievous burden by the nobility and gentry: several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchase this prerogative, together with that of purveyance; and two hundred thousand pounds a year had been offered that prince in lieu of them: wardships and purveyance had been utterly abolished by the republican Parliament; and even in the present Parliament, before the king arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for the emoluments of these prerogatives. A hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum agreed to; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown, as the fund whence this revenue should be levied. Though that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the king's situation which induced him to consent to it. No request of the Parliament, during the present joy, could be refused them.

Tonnage and poundage and the other half of the excise were granted to the king during life. The Parliament even proceeded so far as to vote that the settled revenue of the crown for all charges should be one million two hundred thousand pounds a year; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. But as all the princes of Europe were perpetually augmenting their military force, and consequently their expense, it became requisite that England, from motives both of honour and security, should bear some proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the new system of politics which prevailed. According to the chancellor's computation, a charge of eight hundred thousand pounds a year was at present requisite for the fleet and other articles, which formerly cost the crown but eighty thousand.

Had the Parliament, before restoring the king, insisted on any farther limitations than those which the constitution already imposed; besides the danger of reviving former quarrels among parties, it would seem that their

precautions had been entirely superfluous. By reason of its slender and precarious revenue, the crown in effect was still totally dependent. Not a fourth part of this sum, which seemed requisite for public expenses, could be levied without consent of Parliament; and any concessions, had they been thought necessary, might, even after the restoration, be extorted by the Commons from their necessitous prince. This Parliament showed no intention of employing at present that engine to any such purposes; but they seemed still determined not to part with it entirely, or to render the revenues of the crown fixed and independent. Though they voted in general, that one million two hundred thousand pounds a year should be settled on the king, they scarcely assigned any funds which could yield two-thirds of that sum; and they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of Parliament.

In all the temporary supplies which they voted, they discovered the same cautious frugality. To disband the army, so formidable in itself, and so much accustomed to rebellion and changes of government, was necessary for the security both of king and Parliament; yet the Commons showed great jealousy in granting the sums requisite for that end. An assessment of seventy thousand pounds a month was imposed; but it was at first voted to continue only three months: and all the other sums, which they levied for that purpose, by a poll-bill and new assessments, were still granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well assured of the fidelity of the hand to which the money was entrusted. Having proceeded so far in the settlement of the nation, the Parliament adjourned itself for some time.

Sept. 13. Trial and execution of the regicides.

During the recess of Parliament, the object which chiefly interested the public was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. The general indignation, attending the enormous crime of which these men had been guilty, made their sufferings the subject of joy to the people; but in the peculiar circumstances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mind seasoned with humanity will find a plentiful source of compassion and indulgence. Can any one, without concern for human blindness and igno-

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rance, consider the demeanour of General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of sentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime of which he stood accused, was not a deed performed in a corner; the sound of it had gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of Heaven: that he himself, agitated by doubts, had often with passionate tears, offered up his addresses to the Divine Majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction: he had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction: that all the nations of the earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness, compared with divine illuminations: that these frequent illapses of the Divine Spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth: that all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to shake his steady resolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant: and that, when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendour and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles, and his integrity.

Scot, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had said in the House of Commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tombstone than this: *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death.* He supported the same spirit upon his trial.

Carew, a millenarian, submitted to his trial, *saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms.* Some scrupled to say, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country, because God was not visibly present to judge them; others said, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than six of the late king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all those who came in upon the king's proclamation. He was a gentleman of good family and of a decent character; but it was proved, that he had a little before, in conversation, expressed himself as if he were nowise convinced of any guilt, in condemning the king. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of justice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution, Coke, the solicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who inflamed the army and impelled them to regicide; all these were tried, and condemned, and suffered with the king's judges. No saint or confessor ever went to martyrdom with more assured confidence of heaven than was expressed by those criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were set before them. The rest of the king's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were dispersed into several prisons. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

This punishment of declared enemies interrupted not the rejoicings of the court; but the death of the Duke of Gloucester, a young prince of promising hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The king, by no incident in his life, was ever so deeply affected. Gloucester was observed to possess united the good qualities of both his brothers; the clear judgment and penetration of the king, the industry and application of the Duke of York. He was also believed to be affectionate to the religion and constitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age when the small-pox put an end to his life. Sept. 13.

The Princess of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy attending the restoration of her family, with whom she lived in great friendship, soon after sickened and died. The queen-mother paid a visit to her son, and obtained his consent to the marriage of the Princess Henrietta with the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

After a recess of near two months, the Parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement. They established the post-office, wine-licences, and some articles of the revenue. They granted more assessments, and some arrears, for paying and dis- Nov. 6.

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1660. Dissolution of the Convention Parliament Dec. 29.

banding the army. Business, being carried on with great unanimity, was soon despatched; and after they had sitten two months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them.

This House of Commons had been chosen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and though many royalists had crept in amongst them, yet did it chiefly consist of presbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aside their old jealousies and principles. Lenthal, a member, having said, that those who first took arms against the king, were as guilty as those who afterwards brought him to the scaffold, was severely reprimanded by order of the House; and the most violent efforts of the Long Parliament, to secure the constitution, and bring delinquents to justice, were in effect vindicated and applauded [a]. The claim of the two houses to the militia, the first ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an usurpation, was never expressly resigned by this Parliament. They made all grants of money with a very sparing hand. Great arrears being due by the protector, to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of service, this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without establishing funds sufficient for its payment. Yet notwithstanding this jealous care expressed by the Parliament, there prevails a story that Popham having sounded the disposition of the members, undertook to the Earl of Southampton to procure, during the king's life, a grant of two millions a year land-tax; a sum which, added to the customs and excise, would for ever have rendered this prince independent of his people. Southampton, it is said, merely from his affection to the king, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made sensible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that such an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is nowise probable that all the interest of the court would ever, with this House of Commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon showed his prudence, no less than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

The chancellor, from the same principles of conduct,

[a] Journals, vol. viii. p. 24.

hastened to disband the army. When the king reviewed these veteran troops, he was struck with their beauty, order, discipline, and martial appearance; and being sensible that regular forces are most necessary implements of royalty, he expressed a desire of finding expedients still to retain them. But his wise minister set before him the dangerous spirit by which these troops were actuated, their enthusiastic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the king, that till they were disbanded, he never could esteem himself securely established on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about one thousand horse, and four thousand foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this island. Lord Mordaunt said, that the king, being possessed of that force, might now look upon himself as the most considerable gentleman in England [b]. The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and other towns, which had made resistance to the king during the civil wars, were demolished.

Clarendon not only behaved with wisdom and justice in the office of chancellor; all the counsels, which he gave the king, tended equally to promote the interest of prince and people. Charles, accustomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgment of this faithful servant, continued still to submit to his direction; and for some time no minister was ever possessed of more absolute authority. He moderated the forward zeal of the royalists, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the opposite party, he endeavoured to preserve inviolate all the king's engagements: he kept an exact register of the promises which had been made for any service, and he employed all his industry to fulfil them. This good minister was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the Duke of York, and, under promise of marriage, had secretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared soon after the restoration; and

[b] King James's Memoirs. This prince says, that Venner's insurrection furnished a reason or pretence for keeping up the guards, which were intended at first to have been disbanded with the rest of the army.

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though many endeavoured to dissuade the king from consenting to so unequal an alliance, Charles in pity to his friend and minister, who had been ignorant of these engagements, permitted his brother to marry her[c]. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness at the honour which he had obtained; and said, that by being elevated so much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more sudden downfal.

Prelacy restored.

Most circumstances of Clarendon's administration have met with applause: his maxims alone in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics have by many been deemed the effect of prejudices narrow and bigoted. Had the jealousy of royal power prevailed so far with the Convention Parliament, as to make them restore the king with strict limitations, there is no question but the establishment of presbyterian discipline had been one of the conditions most rigidly insisted on. Not only that form of ecclesiastical government is more favourable to liberty than to royal power; it was likewise, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the House of Commons, and suited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general disgust towards faction, and the authority of Monk, had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full settlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a necessary and infallible consequence. All the royalists were zealous for that mode of religion: the merits of the episcopal clergy towards the king, as well as their sufferings on that account, had been great; the laws which established bishops and the liturgy were as yet unrepealed by legal authority; and any attempt of the Parliament, by new acts, to give the superiority to presbyterianism, had been sufficient to involve the nation again in blood and confusion. Moved by these views, the Commons had wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left the settlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws.

The king at first used great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine bishops still remained alive, and these were immediately restored to their sees; all the ejected clergy recovered their livings; the liturgy,

[c] King James's Memoirs.

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a form of worship, decent and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches; but at the same time a declaration was issued, in order to give contentment to the presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality[d].—In this declaration, the king promised that he would provide suffragan bishops for the larger dioceses; that the prelates should, all of them, be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of presbyters chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; that, in the mean time, the use of that mode of worship should not be imposed on such as were unwilling to receive it; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should not be rigidly insisted on. This declaration was issued by the king as head of the church; and he plainly assumed, in many parts of it, a legislative authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the English government, though more exactly defined by late contests, was not as yet reduced, in every particular, to the strict limits of law, and if ever prerogative was justifiably employed, it seemed to be on the present occasion, when all parts of the state were torn with past convulsions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magistrate to reduce them to their ancient order.

But though these appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated episcopacy only seemed to be insisted on, it was far from the intention of the ministry always to preserve like regard to the presbyterians. The madness of the fifth-monarchy men afforded them a pretence for departing from it. Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, issued forth at their head into the streets of London. They were to the number of sixty, completely armed, believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the same success which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being questioned, said, "He was for

Insurrection of the millenarians.

[d] Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii. p. 173.

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God and King Charles," was instantly murdered by them. They went triumphantly from street to street, every where proclaiming King Jesus, who, they said, was their invisible leader. At length, the magistrates, having assembled some train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themselves with order as well as valour; and after killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-wood near Hampstead. Next morning they were chased thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured again to invade the city, which was not prepared to receive them. After committing great disorder, and traversing almost every street of that immense capital, they retired into a house, which they were resolute to defend to the last extremity. Being surrounded, and the house untiled, they were fired upon from every side, and they still refused quarter. The people rushed in upon them, and seized the few who were alive. These were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they persisted in affirming, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

Clarendon and the ministry took occasion, from this insurrection, to infer the dangerous spirit of the presbyterians and of all the sectaries; but the madness of the attempt sufficiently proved, that it had been undertaken by no concert, and never could have proved dangerous. The well-known hatred, too, which prevailed between the presbyterians and the other sects, should have removed the former from all suspicion of any concurrence in the enterprise. But as a pretence was wanted, besides their old demerits, for justifying the intended rigours against all of them, this reason, however slight, was greedily laid hold of.

Affairs of Scotland.

Affairs in Scotland hastened with still quicker steps than those in England towards a settlement and a compliance with the king. It was deliberated in the English council, whether that nation should be restored to its liberty, or whether the forts erected by Cromwell should not still be upheld, in order to curb the mutinous spirit by which the Scots, in all ages, had been so much governed? Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worcester to the restoration, had been detained prisoner in the Tower, had considerable influence with the king;

and he strenuously opposed this violent measure. He represented, that it was the loyalty of the Scottish nation, which had engaged them in an opposition to the English rebels; and to take advantage of the calamities into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the highest injustice and ingratitude: that the spirit of that people was now fully subdued by the servitude under which the usurpers had so long held them, and would of itself yield to any reasonable compliance with their legal sovereign, if by this means they recovered their liberty and independence: that the attachment of the Scots towards their king, whom they regarded as their native prince, was naturally much stronger than that of the English; and would afford him a sure resource, in case of any rebellion among the latter: that republican principles had long been, and still were, very prevalent with his southern subjects, and might again menace the throne with new tumults and resistance: that the time would probably come, when the king, instead of desiring to see English garrisons in Scotland, would be better pleased to have Scottish garrisons in England, who, supported by English pay, would be fond to curb the seditious genius of that opulent nation: and that a people, such as the Scots, governed by a few nobility, would more easily be reduced to submission under monarchy, than one like the English, who breathed nothing but the spirit of democratical equality. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

These views induced the king to disband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the Parliament, which was summoned. A very compliant spirit was there discovered in all orders of men. The commissioner had even sufficient influence to obtain an act annulling, at once, all laws which had passed since the year 1633, on pretext of the violence which, during that time, had been employed against the king and his father, in order to procure their assent to these statutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled concession; and, together with many dangerous limitations, overthrew some useful barriers which had been erected to the constitution. But the tide was now running strongly towards monarchy; and the Scottish 1661. 1st Jan.

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nation plainly discovered, that their past resistance had proceeded more from the turbulence of their aristocracy, and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics, than from any fixed passion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were restored, with some other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretences, was, in its full extent, re-established in that kingdom.

The prelacy, likewise, by the abrogating of every statute enacted in favour of presbytery, was thereby tacitly restored; and the king deliberated what use he should make of this concession. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a passionate zealot against episcopacy, endeavoured to persuade him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favourite point of ecclesiastical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the king. Charles, though he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scottish presbyterians, that he ever after bore them a hearty aversion. He said to Lauderdale, that presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman, and he could not consent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton, too, and his other ministers, persuaded him that the nation in general was so disgusted with the violence and tyranny of the ecclesiastics, that any alteration of church government would be universally grateful; and Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the presbyterian sect, if legally established in Scotland, would require authority in England and Ireland, seconded the application of these ministers. The resolution was therefore taken to restore prelacy, a measure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniences; but whether in this resolution Charles chose not the lesser evil, it is very difficult to determine. Sharp, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interest with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created Archbishop of St. Andrews. The conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was chiefly entrusted to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

Charles had not promised to Scotland any such indemnity as he had insured to England by the declaration of Breda; and it was deemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for some time, the terror of punishment, till they should have made the requisite compliances with the new government. Though neither the king's temper nor plan of administration led him to severity, some examples, after such a bloody and triumphant rebellion, seemed necessary; and the Marquis of Argyle, and one Guthry, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one passed by the late king in 1641, another by the present in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obstacles to the punishment of Argyle, and barred all inquiry into that part of his conduct, which might justly be regarded as the most exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the usurpation; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and such a one as the most loyal and affectionate subject might frequently by violence be obliged to commit. To make this compliance appear the more voluntary and hearty, there were produced in court letters which he had written to Albemarle while that general commanded in Scotland, and which contained expressions of the most cordial attachment to the established government. But besides the general indignation excited by Albemarle's discovery of this private correspondence, men thought, that even the highest demonstrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a necessary mark of compliance from a person of such distinction as Argyle, and could not by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The Parliament, however, scrupled not to pass sentence upon him, and he died with great constancy and courage. As he was universally known to have been the chief instrument of the past disorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his sentence, and several iniquitous circumstances in the method of conducting his trial, seemed, on that account, to admit of some apology. Lord Lorne, son of Argyle, having ever preserved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a seditious preacher, and had personally affronted the king: his punishment gave surprise to nobody. Sir Archibald Johnstone, of Warris-

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ton, was attainted and fled; but was seized in France about two years after, brought over, and executed. He had been very active during all the late disorders, and was even suspected of a secret correspondence with the English regicides.

Besides these instances of compliance in the Scottish Parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the king, of forty thousand pounds a year, to be levied by way of excise. A small force was purposed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confusions with those to which the kingdom had been hitherto exposed. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant unlawful, and its obligation void and null.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Cavalier and Roundhead were heard of no more: all men seemed to concur in submitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of Parliament. Theological controversy alone still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of that flame which had thrown the nation into combustion. While catholics, independents, and other sectaries, were content with entertaining some prospect of toleration, prelacy and presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were anew canvassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes that so many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation. to agree in all points of controversy: they were surprised to see them separate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. To enter into particulars would be superfluous. Disputes concerning religious forms are, in themselves, the most frivolous of any, and merit attention only so far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil society.

Conference at the Savoy, March 25.

The king's declaration had promised, that some endea-

vours should be used to effect a comprehension of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all such questions seemed a favourable circumstance for the execution of that project. The partisans of a comprehension said, that the presbyterians, as well as the prelatists, having felt by experience the fatal effects of obstinacy and violence, were now well disposed towards an amicable agreement: that the bishops, by relinquishing some part of their authority, and dispensing with the most exceptionable ceremonies, would so gratify their adversaries, as to obtain their cordial and affectionate compliance, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one worship: that by obstinately insisting on forms in themselves insignificant, an air of importance was bestowed on them, and men were taught to continue equally obstinate in rejecting them: that the presbyterian clergy would go every reasonable length, rather than, by parting with their livings, expose themselves to a state of beggary, at best of dependence: and that if their pride were flattered by some seeming alterations, and a pretence given them for affirming that they had not abandoned their former principles, nothing farther was wanting to produce a thorough union between those two parties, which comprehended the bulk of the nation.

Arguments for and against a comprehension.

It was alleged, on the other hand, that the difference between religious sects was founded, not on principle, but on passion; and till the irregular affections of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehension: that the more insignificant the objects of dispute appeared, with the more certainty might it be inferred, that the real ground of dissension was different from that which was universally pretended: that the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleasure of making proselytes, and the obstinacy of contradiction, would for ever give rise to sects and disputes; nor was it possible that such a source of dissension could ever, by any concessions, be entirely exhausted: that the church, by departing from ancient practices and principles, would tacitly acknowledge herself guilty of error, and lose that reverence so requisite for preserving the attachment of the multitude: and that if the present concessions (which was more than probable)

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should prove ineffectual, greater must still be made; and in the issue, discipline would be despoiled of all its authority, and worship of all its decency, without obtaining that end which had been so fondly sought for by these dangerous indulgences.

The ministry were inclined to give the preference to the latter arguments, and were the more confirmed in that intention by the disposition which appeared in the Parliament lately assembled. The royalists and zealous churchmen were at present the popular party in the nation, and, seconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in most elections. Not more than fifty-six members of the presbyterian party had obtained seats in the Lower House[e]; and these were not able either to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopacy, were now exalted to as great power and splendour, as they had lately suffered misery and depression. Sir Edward Turner was chosen speaker.

A new Parliament 8th May.

An act was passed for the security of the king's person and government. To intend or devise the king's imprisonment or bodily harm, or deposition, or levying war against him, was declared, during the lifetime of his present majesty, to be high treason. To affirm him to be a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to alienate his subjects' affections from him; these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate the person guilty from holding any employment in church or state. To maintain that the Long Parliament is not dissolved, or that either or both Houses, without the king, are possessed of legislative authority, or that the covenant is binding, was made punishable by the penalty of præmunire.

The covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The people assisted with great alacrity on this occasion.

The abuses of petitioning in the preceding reign had been attended with the worst consequences; and to prevent such irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands should be fixed to any petition, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the

[e] Carte's Answer to the Bystander, p. 79.

major part of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the king or either House by above ten persons. The penalty annexed to a transgression of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months' imprisonment. CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

The bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from Parliament by the law which the late king had passed immediately before the commencement of the civil disorders. Great violence, both against the king and the House of Peers, had been employed in passing this law; and on that account alone, the partisans of the church were provided with a plausible pretence for repealing it. Charles expressed much satisfaction, when he gave his assent to the act for that purpose. It is certain that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was interested in restoring the prelates to their former dignity. But those who deemed every acquisition of the prince a detriment to the people, were apt to complain of this instance of complaisance in the Parliament. Bishops' seats restored.

After an adjournment of some months, the Parliament was again assembled, and proceeded in the same spirit as before. They discovered no design of restoring, in its full extent, the ancient prerogative of the crown; they were only anxious to repair all those breaches which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the sword had, in in all ages, been allowed to be vested in the crown; and though no law conferred this prerogative, every Parliament, till the last of the preceding reign, had willingly submitted to an authority more ancient, and therefore more sacred, than that of any positive statute. It was now thought proper solemnly to relinquish the violent pretensions of that Parliament, and to acknowledge, that neither one House, nor both Houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. The preamble to this statute went so far as to renounce all right even of *defensive* arms against the king; and much observation has been made with regard to a concession esteemed so singular. Were these terms taken in their full literal sense, they imply a total renunciation of limitations to monarchy, and of all privileges in the subject, 20th Nov.

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independent of the will of the sovereign. For as no rights can subsist without some remedy, still less rights exposed to so much invasion from tyranny, or even from ambition; if subjects must never resist, it follows, that every prince, without any effort, policy, or violence, is at once rendered absolute and uncontrollable: the sovereign needs only issue an edict, abolishing every authority but his own; and all liberty from that moment is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it were absurd to impute to the present Parliament, who, though zealous royalists, showed in their measures that they had not cast off all regard to national privileges. They were probably sensible, that to suppose in the sovereign any such invasion of public liberty is entirely unconstitutional; and that therefore expressly to reserve, upon that event, any right of resistance in the subject, must be liable to the same objection. They had seen that the Long Parliament, under colour of defence, had begun a violent attack upon kingly power; and, after involving the kingdom in blood, had finally lost that liberty for which they had so imprudently contended. They thought, perhaps erroneously, that it was no longer possible, after such public and such exorbitant pretensions, to persevere in that prudent silence hitherto maintained by the laws; and that it was necessary, by some positive declaration, to bar the return of like inconveniences. When they excluded, therefore, the right of defence, they supposed that the constitution remaining firm upon its basis, there never really could be an attack made by the sovereign. If such an attack was at any time made, the necessity was then extreme: and the case of extreme and violent necessity, no laws, they thought, could comprehend; because to such a necessity no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

The other measures of this Parliament still discovered a more anxious care to guard against rebellion in the subject than encroachments in the crown: the recent evils of civil war and usurpation had naturally increased the spirit of submission to the monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the Parliament and of the protectors, all magistrates, liable to suspicion, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been

Corporation act.

admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refused to subscribe the covenant. To leave all authority in such hands seemed dangerous; and the Parliament, therefore, empowered the king to appoint commissioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling such magistrates as either intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should disclaim the obligation of the covenant, and should declare, both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to resist the king, and their abhorrence of the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him. CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

The care of the church was no less attended to by this Parliament, than that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity was a pledge of their sincere attachment to the episcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to presbyterianism. Different parties, however, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many severe clauses. The independents and other sectaries, enraged to find all their schemes subverted by the presbyterians, who had once been their associates, exerted themselves to disappoint that party of the favour and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the restoration, they thought themselves justly entitled. By the presbyterians, said they, the war was raised; by them was the populace first incited to tumults: by their zeal, interest, and riches, were the armies supported: by their force was the king subdued: and if, in the sequel, they protested against such extreme violences, committed on his person by the military leaders, their opposition came too late, after having supplied these usurpers with the power and the pretences by which they maintained their sanguinary measures. They had indeed concurred with the royalists in recalling the king; but ought they to be esteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cause? Rage and animosity, from disappointed ambition, were plainly their sole motives; and if the king should now be so imprudent as to distinguish them by any particular indulgences, he would soon experience from them 1662. Act of uniformity.

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the same hatred and opposition which had proved so fatal to his father.

The Catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court; and from their services and sufferings during the civil wars, it seemed but just to bear them some favour and regard. These religionists dreaded an entire union among the Protestants. Were they the sole nonconformists in the nation, the severe execution of penal laws upon their sect seemed an infallible consequence; and they used, therefore, all their interest to push matters to extremity against the presbyterians, who had formerly been their most severe oppressors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The Earl of Bristol, who from conviction, or interest, or levity, or complaisance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his religion during the king's exile, was regarded as the head of this party.

The church party had, during so many years, suffered such injuries and indignities from the sectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much less deference, was on this occasion to be expected in the ecclesiastics. Even the laity of that communion seemed now disposed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the usual measures of party justice. This sect or faction (for it partook of both) encouraged the rumours of plots and conspiracies against the government; crimes which, without any apparent reason, they imputed to their adversaries. And, instead of enlarging the terms of communion, in order to comprehend the presbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices which prevailed among that sect, in order to eject them from their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required that every clergyman should be reordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the king.

This bill reinstated the church in the same condition

in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigour, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and of indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken. It is true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expressed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of Parliament: but this limitation could never reasonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his engagements. However, it is agreed, that the king did not voluntarily concur with this violent measure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church party among the Commons, seconded by the intrigues of the Catholics, was the chief cause which extorted his consent.

The royalists, who now predominated, were very ready to signalize their victory, by establishing those high principles of monarchy which their antagonists had controverted; but when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither so forward nor so liberal in their concessions as the king would gladly have wished. Though the Parliament passed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their sanction to this dangerous innovation. The king's debts were become intolerable; and the Commons were at last constrained to vote him an extraordinary supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly assessments. But besides that this supply was much inferior to the occasion, the king was obliged earnestly to solicit the Commons, before he could obtain it; and in order to convince the House of its absolute necessity, he desired them to examine strictly into all his receipts and disbursements. Finding likewise upon inquiry, that the several branches of revenue fell much short of the sums expected, they at last, after much delay, voted a new imposition of two shillings on each hearth; and this tax they settled on the king during life. The whole established revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million[f]; a sum confessedly too narrow for the public

[f] D'Estrades, 25th July, 1661. Mr. Ralph's History, vol. i. p. 176.

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expenses. A very rigid frugality at least, which the king seems to have wanted, would have been requisite to make it suffice for the dignity and security of government. After all business was despatched, the Parliament was prorogued.

May 19.

King's marriage.

Before the Parliament rose, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had just landed at Portsmouth. During the time that the protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to support the Portuguese in their revolt: and he engaged himself by treaty to supply them with ten thousand men for their defence against the Spaniards. On the king's restoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance; and in order to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, and a portion of five hundred thousand pounds, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an opposite interest. The Catholic king offered to adopt any other princess as a daughter of Spain, either the Princess of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, some Protestant princess, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange: and on any of these he promised to confer a dowry equal to that which was offered by Portugal. But many reasons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portuguese proposals. The great disorders in the government and finances of Spain made the execution of her promises be much doubted; and the king's urgent necessities demanded some immediate supply of money. The interest of the English commerce likewise seemed to require that the independency of Portugal should be supported, lest the union of that crown with Spain should put the whole treasures of America into the hands of one potentate. The claims, too, of Spain upon Dunkirk and Jamaica, rendered it impossible, without farther concessions, to obtain the cordial friendship of that power; and, on the other hand, the offer made by Portugal, of two such

considerable fortresses, promised a great accession to the naval force of England. Above all, the proposal of a Protestant princess was no allurement to Charles, whose inclination led him strongly to give the preference to a Catholic alliance. According to the most probable accounts[g], the resolution of marrying the daughter of Portugal was taken by the king, unknown to all his ministers; and no remonstrances could prevail with him to alter his intentions. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the resolution; and the Parliament expressed the same complaisance. And thus was concluded, seemingly with universal consent, the inauspicious marriage with Catherine, a princess of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her person or humour, to make herself agreeable to the king. The report, however, of her natural incapacity to have children seems to have been groundless; since she was twice declared to be pregnant[h]. CHAP. LXIII. 1662. May 21.

The festivity of these espousals was clouded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides, had escaped beyond sea; and, after wandering some time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were discovered by Downing, the king's resident in Holland, who had formerly served the protector and commonwealth in the same station, and who once had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied for a warrant to arrest them. It had been usual for the states to grant these warrants, though, at the same time, they had ever been careful secretly to advertise the persons, that they might be enabled to make their escape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and despatch of Downing. He quickly seized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coast, and sent them to Eng-

[g] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 254. This account seems better supported than that in Ablancourt's Memoirs, that the chancellor chiefly pushed the Portuguese alliance. The secret transactions of the court of England could not be supposed to be much known to a French resident at Lisbon: and whatever opposition the chancellor might make, he would certainly endeavour to conceal it from the queen and all her family, and even in the Parliament and council would support the resolution already taken. *Clarendon himself says, in his Memoirs, that he never either opposed or promoted the Portuguese match.*

[h] Lord Lansdowne's Defence of General Monk. Temple, vol. ii. p. 154.

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land. These three men behaved with more moderation and submission than any of the other regicides who had suffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the king, and expressed his intention, had he lived, of submitting peaceably to the established government. He had risen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be a man of humanity and honour. In consideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given to his friends to be buried.

The attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two distinguished criminals, Lambert and Vane. These men, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to prison. The Convention Parliament, however, was so favourable to them, as to petition the king, if they should be found guilty, to suspend their execution: but this new Parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive disputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and Parliament: it extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of state, and secretary of the navy, where fidelity to the trust reposed in him, required his opposition to monarchy.

Trial of Vane;

Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He urged that, if a compliance with the government, at that time established in England, and the acknowledging of its authority, were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whose innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons: that, according to these maxims, wherever an illegal authority was established by force, a total and universal destruction must ensue; while the usurpers proscribed one part of the nation for disobedience, the lawful prince punished the other for compliance: that the legislature of England, foreseeing this violent situation, had provided for public security by the famous statute of Henry VII.; in which it was

enacted that no man, in case of any revolution, should ever be questioned for his obedience to the king in being: that whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; nor ought the expelled prince to think himself entitled to allegiance, so long as he could not afford protection: that it belonged not to private persons, possessed of no power, to discuss the title of their governors; and every usurpation, even the most flagrant, would equally require obedience with the most legal establishment: that the controversy between the late king and his Parliament was of the most delicate nature; and men of the greatest probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they should embrace: that the Parliament, being rendered indissoluble but by its own consent, was become a kind of co-ordinate power with the king; and as the case was thus entirely new and unknown to the constitution, it ought not to be tried rigidly by the letter of the ancient laws: that for his part, all the violences which had been put upon the Parliament, and upon the person of the sovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the House for some time before and after the execution of the king: that finding the whole government thrown into disorder, he was still resolved in every revolution to adhere to the Commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: that in prosecution of this principle, he had cheerfully undergone all the violence of Cromwell's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expose himself to the rigours of perverted law and justice: that though it was in his power, on the king's restoration, to have escaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the most illustrious names of antiquity, to perish in defence of liberty, and to give testimony with his blood for that honourable cause, in which he had been enlisted: and that, besides the ties by which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the most sacred covenant, whose obligation no earthly power should ever be able to make him relinquish.

All the defence which Vane could make was fruitless. June 11.
The court considering more the general opinion of his

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

active guilt in the beginning and prosecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treason charged against him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the persuasion of a just cause supported him against the terrors of death; while his enthusiasm, excited by the prospect of glory, embellished the conclusion of a life, which, through the whole course of it, had been so much disfigured by the prevalence of that principle. Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admonished him to temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not astonished at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death but as a passage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

and execution. June 14.

This man, so celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him: they treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are absolutely unintelligible; no traces of eloquence, or even of common sense, appear in them. A strange paradox! did we not know, that men of the greatest genius, where they relinquish by principle the use of their reason, are only enabled, by their vigour of mind, to work themselves the deeper into error and absurdity. It was remarkable, that, as Vane, by being the chief instrument of Strafford's death, had first opened the way for that destruction which overwhelmed the nation; so by his death he closed the scene of blood. He was the last that suffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert survived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the Isle of Guernsey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his past schemes of greatness, and entirely forgotten by the nation. He died a Roman Catholic.

However odious Vane and Lambert were to the pres-

byterians, that party had no leisure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day when the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription; in hopes that the bishops would not venture at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The Catholic party at court, who desired a great rent among the Protestants, encouraged them in this obstinacy, and gave them hopes that the king would protect them in their refusal. The king himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures; and, to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Fortified by society in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than openly renounce those principles, which, on other occasions, they were so apt, from interest, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleasure of retaliation; and even pushed, as usual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergymen; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the House of Peers, was now refused to the presbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many, that some relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept the presbyterians united to the church, and have cured those ecclesiastical factions which had been so fatal, and were still so dangerous. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many.

CHAP. LXIII.

1662. Presbyterian clergy ejected. Aug. 24.

The next measure of the king has not had the good fortune to be justified by any party; but is often considered, on what grounds I shall not determine, as one of

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1662. Dunkirk sold to the French.

the greatest mistakes, if not blemishes, of his reign. It is the sale of Dunkirk to the French. The parsimonious maxims of the Parliament, and the liberal, or rather careless disposition of Charles, were ill suited to each other: and notwithstanding the supplies voted him, his treasury was still very empty and very much indebted. He had secretly received the sum of two hundred thousand crowns from France, for the support of Portugal; but the forces sent over to that country, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king that sum; and, together with it, near double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion[i]. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the Duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortress from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. These considerations had such influence, not only on the king, but even on Clarendon, that this uncorrupt minister was the most forward to advise accepting a sum of money in lieu of a place which, he thought, the king, from the narrow state of his revenue, was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal, it was stipulated that Dunkirk should never be yielded to the Spaniards; France was therefore the only purchaser that remained. D'Estrades was invited over, by a letter from the chancellor himself, in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thousand pounds were demanded: one hundred thousand were offered. The English by degrees lowered their demand; the French raised their offer, and the bargain was concluded at four hundred thousand pounds. The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum[k]. The importance of this sale was not, at that time, sufficiently known, either abroad or at home[l]. The French monarch himself, so fond of acqui-

[i] D'Estrades, 17th of August, 1662. There was above half of five hundred thousand pounds really paid as the queen's portion.

[k] D'Estrades, 21st of August, 12th of September, 1662.

[l] It appears, however, from many of D'Estrades' letters, particularly that of the 21st of August, 1661, that the king might have transferred Dunkirk to the Parliament, who would not have refused to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the king for that purpose. The king, on the other hand, was jealous lest the Parliament should acquire any separate dominion or authority in

sitions, and so good a judge of his own interests, thought that he had made a hard bargain[m]; and this sum, in appearance so small, was the utmost that he would allow his ambassador to offer.

A new incident discovered such a glimpse of the king's character and principles, as, at first, the nation was somewhat at a loss how to interpret, but such as subsequent events, by degrees, rendered sufficiently plain and manifest. He issued a declaration on pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. After expressing his firm resolution to observe the general indemnity, and to trust entirely to the affections of his subjects, not to any military power, for the support of his throne, he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he subjoined, that, "as in the first place he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, in discipline, ceremony, and government, and shall ever constantly maintain it: so as for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, he should make it his special care, so far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline their wisdom next approaching sessions to concur with him in making some such act for that purpose, as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing which he conceived to be inherent in him[n]." Here a most important prerogative was exercised by the king; but under such artful reserves and limitations as might prevent the full discussion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his Parliament. The foundation of this measure lay much deeper, and was of the utmost consequence.

Declaration of indulgence. 26th Dec.

a branch of administration which seemed so little to belong to them: a proof that the government was not yet settled into that composure and mutual confidence which is absolutely requisite for conducting it.

[m] D'Estrades, 3rd of October, 1662. The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the English was, that it was able to distress their trade when in the hands of the French: but it was Lewis the XIVth who first made it a good sea-port. If ever England have occasion to transport armies to the continent, it must be in support of some ally whose towns serve to the same purpose as Dunkirk would, if in the hands of the English.

[n] Kennet's Register, p. 350.

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

The king, during his exile, had imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion, and, according to the most probable accounts, had already been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expressed by the parliamentary party against all Papists, had always, from a spirit of opposition, inclined the court, and all the royalists, to adopt more favourable sentiments towards that sect, which, through the whole course of the civil wars, had strenuously supported the rights of the sovereign. The rigour, too, which the king, during his abode in Scotland, had experienced from the presbyterians, disposed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindness to the party most opposite in its genius to the severity of those religionists. The solicitations and importunities of the queen-mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more splendid and courtly mode of worship, the hopes of indulgence in pleasure; all these causes operated powerfully on a young prince, whose careless and dissolute temper made him incapable of adhering closely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtless humour of Charles rendered him an easy convert to popery, the same disposition ever prevented the theological tenets of that sect from taking any fast hold of him. During his vigorous state of health, while his blood was warm and his spirits high, a contempt and disregard to all religion held possession of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a deist than a Catholic. But in those revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent, understanding was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of more sincere conviction; and a sect, which always possessed his inclination, was then master of his judgment and opinion [o].

But though the king thus fluctuated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and popery, to which he retained a secret propensity, his brother, the Duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. His

[o] The author confesses, that the king's zeal for popery was apt, at intervals, to go farther than is here supposed, as appears from many passages in James the Second's Memoirs.

eager temper and narrow understanding made him a thorough convert, without any reserve from interest, or doubts from reasoning and inquiry. By his application to business he had acquired a great ascendant over the king, who, though possessed of more discernment, was glad to throw the burden of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealousy. On pretence of easing the Protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the Catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private houses. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and it was hoped that, under shelter of their name, the small and hated sect of the Catholics might meet with favour and protection. CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

But while the king pleaded his early promises of toleration, and insisted on many other plausible topics, the Parliament, who sat a little after the declaration was issued, could by no means be satisfied with this measure. The declared intention of easing the dissenters, and the secret purpose of favouring the Catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and in these prepossessions they were encouraged by the king's ministers themselves, particularly the chancellor. The House of Commons represented to the king, that his declaration of Breda contained no promise to the presbyterians and other dissenters, but only an expression of his intentions, upon supposition of the concurrence of Parliament: that even if the nonconformists had been entitled to plead a promise, they had entrusted this claim, as all their other rights and privileges, to the House of Commons, who were their representatives, and who now freed the king from that obligation: that it was not to be supposed that his majesty and the Houses were so bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws which might be contrary to it: that even at the king's restoration, there were laws of uniformity in force which could not be dispensed with but by an act of Parliament: and that the indulgence intended would prove most pernicious both to church and state, would open the door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature. The king did not think 1663. 18th Feb.

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1663.

proper, after this remonstrance, to insist any farther at present on the project of indulgence.

In order to deprive the Catholics of all hopes, the two Houses concurred in a remonstrance against them. The king gave a gracious answer; though he scrupled not to profess his gratitude towards many of that persuasion, on account of their faithful services in his father's cause and in his own. A proclamation, for form's sake, was soon after issued against Jesuits and Romish priests: but care was taken, by the very terms of it, to render it ineffectual. The Parliament had allowed, that all foreign priests, belonging to the two queens, should be excepted, and that a permission for them to remain in England should still be granted. In the proclamation, the word *foreign* was purposely omitted; and the queens were thereby authorized to give protection to as many English priests as they should think proper.

That the king might reap some advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the Commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he said, much inferior to the public charges. Notwithstanding the price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained, amounted to a considerable sum; and to satisfy the Commons that the money formerly granted him had not been prodigally expended, he offered to lay before them the whole account of his disbursements. It is, however, agreed, on all hands, that the king, though during his banishment he had managed his small and precarious income with great order and economy, had now much abated of these virtues, and was unable to make his royal revenues suffice for his expenses. The Commons, without entering into too nice a disquisition, voted him four subsidies; and this was the last time that taxes were levied in that manner.

Several laws were made this session with regard to trade. The militia also came under consideration, and some rules were established for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the king should have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The situation of this island, together with its great naval power, has always occasioned other means

of security, however requisite, to be much neglected amongst us: and the Parliament showed here a very superfluous jealousy of the king's strictness in disciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealousy.

The Earl of Bristol's friendship with Clarendon, which had subsisted with great intimacy during their exile, and the distresses of the royal party, had been considerably impaired since the restoration, by the chancellor's refusing his assent to some grants, which Bristol had applied for, to a court lady: and a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeably to the impetuosity and indiscretion of his temper, broke out against the minister in the most outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treason against him before the House of Peers; but had concerted his measures so imprudently, that the judges, when consulted, declared, that, neither for its matter, nor its form, could the charge be legally received. The articles indeed resemble more the incoherent altercations of a passionate enemy, than a serious accusation, fit to be discussed by a court of judicature; and Bristol himself was so ashamed of his conduct and defeat, that he absconded during some time. Notwithstanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his spirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character which he lost by this hasty and precipitate measure.

Decline of Clarendon's credit.

But though Clarendon was able to elude this rash assault, his credit at court was sensibly declining; and in proportion as the king found himself established on the throne, he began to alienate himself from a minister, whose character was so little suited to his own. Charles's favour for the Catholics was always opposed by Clarendon, public liberty was secured against all attempts of the over zealous royalists, prodigal grants of the king were checked or refused, and the dignity of his own character was so much consulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did also his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal mistresses. The king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created Duchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's

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credit with his master; and her success was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was soon after created Lord Arlington.

Though the king's conduct had hitherto, since his restoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to observe, that those virtues by which he had at first so much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great show, but not equal solidity. His good understanding lost much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the result of a facility of disposition, than any generosity of character; his social humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleasure was not attended with proper sentiment and decency; and while he seemed to bear a good-will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of friendship, and he had secretly entertained a very bad opinion and distrust of mankind. But above all, what sullied his character, in the eyes of good judges, was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whose zeal and sufferings in the royal cause had known no bounds. This conduct, however, in the king may, from the circumstances of his situation and temper, admit of some excuse; at least, of some alleviation. As he had been restored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his ancient friends, the former pretended a title to share his favour; and being, from practice, acquainted with public business, they were better qualified to execute any trust committed to them. The king's revenues were far from being large, or even equal to his necessary expenses; and his mistresses, and the companions of his mirth and pleasures, gained, by solicitation, every request, from his easy temper. The very poverty to which the more zealous royalists had reduced themselves, by rendering them insignificant, made them unfit to support the king's measures, and caused him to deem them a useless incumbrance. And as many false and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averse to a strict discussion or inquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The

Parliament took some notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thousand pounds were, at one time, distributed among them: Mrs. Lane also, and the Penderells, had handsome presents and pensions from the king. But the greater part of the royalists still remained in poverty and distress; aggravated by the cruel disappointment in their sanguine hopes, and by seeing favour and preferment bestowed upon their most inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they universally said, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAPTER LXIV.

A new Session.—Rupture with Holland.—A new Session.—Victory of the English.—Rupture with France.—Rupture with Denmark.—New Session. Sea-fight of four Days.—Victory of the English.—Fire of London.—Advances towards Peace.—Disgrace at Chatham.—Peace of Breda.—Clarendon's Fall—and Banishment.—State of France.—Character of Lewis XIV.—French Invasion of the Low Countries.—Negotiations.—Triple League.—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Affairs of Scotland—and of Ireland.

CHAP. LXIV.

1664. March 16. A new session.

The next session of Parliament discovered a continuance of the same principles which had prevailed in all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were still the objects of regard and affection. During no period of the present reign did this spirit more evidently pass the bounds of reason and moderation.

The king, in his speech to the Parliament, had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial act; and he even went so far as to declare that, notwithstanding the law, he never would allow any Parliament to be assembled by the methods prescribed in that statute. The Parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and, in lieu of all the securities formerly provided, satisfied themselves with a general clause, "that Parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at the most." As the English Parliament had now raised itself to be a regular check and control upon royal power, it is evident that they ought still to have preserved a regular security for their meeting, and not have trusted entirely to the good-will of the king, who, if ambitious or enterprising, had so little reason to be pleased with these assemblies. Before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occasion to feel very sensibly the effects of this repeal.

By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who should officiate without being properly qualified, was punishable by fine and imprisonment: but this security was not thought sufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that wherever five persons above those of the same house-

hold should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay a hundred pounds. The Parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the sectaries: they should have carried their attention farther, to the chief cause of that malignity, the restraint under which they laboured.

The Commons likewise passed a vote, that the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities, offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade; and they promised to assist the king with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition whatsoever. This was the first open step towards the Dutch war. We must explain the causes and motives of this measure.

Rupture with Holland.

That close union and confederacy, which, during a course of near seventy years, had subsisted, almost without interruption or jealousy, between England and Holland, was not so much founded on the natural unalterable interests of these states, as on their terror of the growing power of the French monarch, who, without their combination, it was apprehended, would soon extend his dominion over Europe. In the first years of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of Lewis had not, as yet, displayed itself, and when the great force of his people was, in some measure, unknown even to themselves, the rivalship of commerce, not checked by any other jealousy or apprehension, had in England begotten a violent enmity against the neighbouring republic.

Trade was beginning, among the English, to be a matter of general concern; but notwithstanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce seemed hitherto to stand upon a footing, which was somewhat precarious. The Dutch, who by industry and frugality were enabled to undersell them in every market, retained possession of the most lucrative branches of commerce; and the English merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loss and dishonour. Their indignation increased, when they considered the superior

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naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and seamen, her favourable situation, which enabled her to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the prospect of these advantages they were strongly prompted, from motives less just than political, to make war upon the states; and at once to ravish from them by force what they could not obtain, or could obtain but slowly, by superior skill and industry.

The careless unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming so vast a project as that of engrossing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether insensible to such obvious and such tempting prospects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, had inclined him to study naval affairs, which, of all branches of business, he both loved the most, and understood the best. Though the Dutch, during his exile, had expressed towards him more civility and friendship than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louvestein or aristocratic faction, which at this time ruled the commonwealth, had fallen into close union with France; and could that party be subdued, he might hope that his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, would be reinstated in the authority possessed by his ancestors, and would bring the states to a dependence under England. His narrow revenues made it still requisite for him to study the humours of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it has been suspected, though the suspicion was not justified by the event, that the hopes of diverting some of the supplies to his private use were not overlooked by this necessitous monarch.

The Duke of York, more active and enterprising, pushed more eagerly the war with Holland. He desired an opportunity of distinguishing himself: he loved to cultivate commerce: he was at the head of a new African company, whose trade was extremely checked by the settlements of the Dutch: and perhaps the religious prejudices, by which that prince was always so much governed, began even so early to instil into him an antipathy against a Protestant commonwealth, the bulwark of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, observing that the nation was not supported by any foreign alliance, were

averse to hostilities; but their credit was now on the decline. CHAP. LXIV.

By these concurring motives, the court and Parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The Parliament was prorogued without voting supplies: but as they had been induced, without any open application from the crown, to pass that vote above mentioned against the Dutch encroachments, it was reasonably considered as sufficient sanction for the vigorous measures which were resolved on. 1664. May 17.

Downing, the English minister at the Hague, a man of an insolent impetuous temper, presented a memorial to the states, containing a list of those depredations, of which the English complained. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and these complaints were then thought either so ill grounded or so frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in the treaty. Two ships alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the English; and it was agreed that the claim should be prosecuted by the ordinary course of justice. The states had consigned a sum of money in case the cause should be decided against them; but the matter was still in dependence. Cary, who was entrusted by the proprietors with the management of the lawsuit for the Bonaventure, had resolved to accept of thirty thousand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him that the claim was a matter of state between the two nations, not a concern of private persons [a]. These circumstances give us no favourable idea of the justice of the English pretensions.

Charles confined not himself to memorials and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions: he likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the Isle of Goree, together with several ships trading on that coast. And having sailed to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a territory

[a] Temple, vol. ii. p. 42.

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which James the First had given by patent to the Earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the states complained of these hostile measures, the king, unwilling to avow what he could not well justify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprise. He likewise confined that admiral to the Tower; but some time after released him.

The Dutch, finding that their applications for redress were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with some precipitation, an act of vigour, which hastened on the rupture. Sir John Lawson and De Ruyter had been sent with combined squadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chastise the piratical states on the coast of Barbary; and the time of their separation and return was now approaching. The states secretly despatched orders to De Ruyter, that he should take in provisions at Cadiz; and sailing towards the coast of Guinea, should retaliate on the English, and put the Dutch in possession of those settlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a considerable force on board, met with no opposition in Guinea. All the new acquisitions of the English, except Cape Corse, were recovered from them. They were even dispossessed of some old settlements. Such of their ships as fell into his hands were seized by De Ruyter. That admiral sailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hostilities on Long Island.

Meanwhile, the English preparations for war were advancing with vigour and industry. The king had received no supplies from Parliament; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet: the city of London lent him one hundred thousand pounds: the spirit of the nation seconded his armaments: he himself went from port to port, inspecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work; and in a little time the English navy was put in a formidable condition. Eight hundred thousand pounds are said to have been expended on this armament. When Lawson arrived, and communicated his suspicion of De Ruyter's enterprise, orders were issued for seizing all Dutch ships; and one hundred and thirty-

five fell into the hands of the English. These were not declared prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed. CHAP. LXIV. 1664. 24th Nov. A new session.

The Parliament, when it met, granted a supply, the largest by far that had ever been given to a king of England, yet scarcely sufficient for the present undertaking. Near two millions and a half were voted to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great prospect of success, had animated the whole nation against the Dutch.

A great alteration was made this session in the method of taxing the clergy. In almost all the other monarchies of Europe, the assemblies, whose consent was formerly requisite to the enacting of laws, were composed of three estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, which formed so many members of the political body, of which the king was considered as the head. In England, too, the Parliament was always represented as consisting of three estates; but their separation was never so distinct as in other kingdoms. A convocation, however, had usually sitten at the same time with the Parliament; though they possessed not a negative voice in the passing of laws, and assumed no other temporal power than that of imposing taxes on the clergy. By reason of ecclesiastical preferments, which he could bestow, the king's influence over the church was more considerable than over the laity; so that the subsidies, granted by the convocation, were commonly greater than those which were voted by Parliament. The church, therefore, was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the Commons to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom. In recompense, two subsidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations having become insignificant to the crown, have been much disused of late years.

The Dutch saw, with the utmost regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences, but which afforded no prospect of advantage. They tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremities. Their measures were at that time

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1664. directed by John de Wit, a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt, in his public counsels, that magnanimity which suits the minister of a great state. It was ever his maxim, that no independent government should yield to another any evident point of reason or equity; and that all such concessions, so far from preventing war, served to no other purpose than to provoke fresh claims and insults. By his management a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

1665. 22d Feb. As soon as certain intelligence arrived of De Ruyter's enterprises, Charles declared war against the states. His fleet, consisting of one hundred and fourteen sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the Duke of York, and under him by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich. It had about twenty-two thousand men on board. Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the Duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral killed during the former war, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

3d June. Victory of the English.

It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity[b]. It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved

[b] King James, in his Memoirs, gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to Sir John Harmon, captain of the ship, to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sail as before: so that the

with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire. The Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly dispositions, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits to flag, and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose face he had not been afraid to encounter. CHAP. LXIV. 1665.

This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation, and determined De Wit, who was the soul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he soon remedied all those disorders which had been occasioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even made improvements in some parts of pilotage and sailing, beyond what men expert in those arts had ever been able to attain.

Rupture with France.

The misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their assistance and support. The King of France was engaged in a defensive alliance with the states; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was entirely averse, at that time, from entering into a war with so formidable a power as England. He long tried to mediate a peace between the states, and for that purpose sent an embassy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the English ambassador at Paris, endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the side of England; and, in his master's name, made him the most tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spanish Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himself; pro-

prince coming soon after on the quarter-deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. Nobody gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it by a kind of accident: and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the House of Commons took up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the duke to punish him otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Brounker, before the House, never pretended that he had received any orders from the duke.

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vided Lewis would allow him to pursue his advantages against the Dutch[c]. But the French monarch, though the conquest of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his interests: he thought, that if the English had once established an uncontrollable dominion over the sea and over commerce, they would soon be able to render his acquisitions a dear purchase to him. When de Lionne, the French secretary, assured Van Beuninghen, ambassador of the states, that this offer had been pressed on his master during six months: "I can readily believe it," replied the Dutchman; "I am sensible that it is the interest of England[d]."

Such were the established maxims at that time with regard to the interests of princes. It must however be allowed, that the politics of Charles, in making this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakness of Spain would have rendered the French conquests easy and infallible; but the vigour of the Dutch, it might be foreseen, would make the success of the English much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquisition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain consequence; nor is trade a constant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and some of them very delicate circumstances.

Though the King of France had resolved to support the Hollanders in that unequal contest in which they were engaged; yet he protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The King of Denmark meanwhile was resolved not to remain an idle spectator of the contest between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the most extraordinary: he made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded

[c] D'Estrades, 19th December, 1664. [d] Ibid. 14th August, 1665.

the English navy, (the duke having gone ashore,) despatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but whether from the King of Denmark's delay in sending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engross the whole booty, the English admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpose. The 3rd Aug. Danish governor fired upon him, and the Dutch, having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a gallant resistance.

The King of Denmark, seemingly ashamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the states; and at the very same time, his resident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England. To this latter alliance he adhered, probably from jealousy of the increasing naval power of England; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. This was a sensible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a blow was given to the English commerce; the King of Denmark's naval force was also considerable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince stipulated to assist his ally with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of one million five hundred thousand crowns, of which three hundred thousand were paid by France. Rupture with Denmark.

The king endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had despatched Sir Richard Fanshaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarch was sunk into a state of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into cordial friendship with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these offences sunk so deep in the mind of the Spanish monarch, that no motive of interest was sufficient to outweigh them.

The Bishop of Munster was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate, a man of restless enterprise and ambition, had entertained a violent animosity against the states; and he was easily engaged, by the

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promise of subsidies from England, to make an incursion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near twenty thousand men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak resistance. The land forces of the states were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after his committing great ravages in several of the provinces, a stop was put to the progress of this warlike prelate. He had not military skill sufficient to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands: the King of France sent a body of six thousand men to oppose him: subsidies were not regularly remitted him from England; and many of his troops deserted for want of pay: the Elector of Brandenburgh threatened him with an invasion in his own state: and on the whole, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the first surmise of his intentions, Sir William Temple was sent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but found that he arrived too late.

The Dutch, encouraged by all these favourable circumstances, continued resolute to exert themselves to the utmost in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: their Indian fleet was come home in safety: their harbours were crowded with merchant ships: faction at home was appeased: the young Prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the states of Holland, and of De Wit, their pensionary, who executed his trust with honour and fidelity: and the animosity which the Hollanders entertained against the attack of the English, so unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirst for revenge, and hope for better success in their next enterprise. Such vigour was exerted in the common cause, that, in order to man the fleet, all merchant ships were prohibited to sail, and even the fisheries were suspended[e].

10th Oct.

The English likewise continued in the same disposition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itself to that of war. The plague had broken out in London; and that with such violence, as to cut off, in a year, near ninety thousand inhabitants. The king was obliged to summon the Parliament at Oxford.

[e] Tromp's Life. D'Estrades, 5th of February, 1665.

A good agreement still subsisted between the king and Parliament. They, on their part, unanimously voted him the supply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. And he, to gratify them, passed the five-mile act, which has given occasion to grievous and not unjust complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy against its inveterate enemies, persevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity against the nonconformists. It was enacted, that no dissenting teacher who took not the non-resistance oath above mentioned should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and six months' imprisonment. By ejecting the nonconforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual profession. And now, under colour of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence. Had not the spirit of the nation undergone a change, these violences were preludes to the most furious persecution.

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1665. New session.

Five-mile act.

However prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not pass without opposition. Besides several peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himself, though Clarendon's great friend, expressed his disapprobation of these measures. But the church party, not discouraged with this opposition, introduced into the House of Commons a bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. The Parliament, after a short session, was prorogued.

31st Oct.

After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force. Yet she possessed this advantage by her situation, that she lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by speedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or such the want of intelligence in her ministers, that this circumstance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the Duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon;

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1666. and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail[f], was now commonly supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, under the command of De Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the protector, had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach Prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the Duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of De Ruyter, protested against the temerity of this resolution: but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that ensued is one of the most memorable that we read of in story; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some atonement by his valour for the rashness of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the summit of honours. We shall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be sufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

Sea-fight of four days.

1st June. In the first day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, was overpowered, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew so hard, that they could not use their lower tier, they derived but small advantage from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on their sails and rigging: and few ships were sunk or much damaged. Chain-shot was at that time a new invention; commonly attributed to De Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himself extremely on this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkness parted the combatants.

[f] D'Estrades, 21st of May, 1666.

The second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat became more steady and more terrible. The English now found, that the greatest valour cannot compensate the superiority of numbers, against an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory, and enemies from faction, exerted themselves in emulation of each other; and De Ruyter had the advantage of disengaging and saving his antagonist, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the most imminent danger. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action; and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and were on the point of renewing the combat, when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were ordered to stretch a-head; and sixteen of the most entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The Earl of Ossory, son of Ormond, a gallant youth, who sought honour and experience in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. Albemarle confessed to him his intention rather to blow up his ship and perish gloriously than yield to the enemy; Ossory applauded this desperate resolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight, when a new fleet was descried from the south, crowding all their sail to reach the scene of action. The Dutch flattered themselves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquished: the English hoped that Prince Rupert had come, to turn the scale of action. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his course towards him. Unhappily, Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of a hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, struck on the Galloper sands, and could receive no assistance from his friends, who were hastening to join the

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reinforcement. He could not even reap the satisfaction of perishing with honour, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fire-ships to attack him, and he was obliged to strike. The English sailors, seeing the necessity, with the utmost indignation surrendered themselves prisoners.

Albemarle and Prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning the battle began afresh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

Though the English, by their obstinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is somewhat uncertain who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ships, and having some appearances of advantage, expressed their satisfaction by all the signs of triumph and rejoicing. But as the English fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to sea more formidable than ever, together with many of those ships which the Dutch had boasted to have burned or destroyed; all Europe saw, that those two brave nations were engaged in a contest, which was not likely, on either side, to prove decisive.

It was the conjunction alone of the French, that could give a decisive superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, De Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail, and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith, and during the heat of action, he was separated from De Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with conduct and valour, maintained the combat against the main body of

25th July. Victory of the English.

the English; and though overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation, however, at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I! Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" One De Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But De Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and as long as possible to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of De Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours.

The loss sustained by the Hollanders in this action was not very considerable; but as violent animosities had broken out between the two admirals, who engaged all the officers on one side or other, the consternation which took place was great among the provinces. Tromp's commission was at last taken from him; but though several captains had misbehaved, they were so effectually protected by their friends in the magistracy of the towns, that most of them escaped punishment, many were still continued in their commands.

The English now rode incontestable masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was sent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coast. The Dutch merchants, who lost by this enterprise, uniting themselves to the Orange faction, exclaimed against an administration, which, they pretended, had brought such disgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of De Wit could have supported itself under such a complication of calamities.

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The King of France, apprehensive that the Dutch would sink under their misfortunes; at least, that De Wit, his friend, might be dispossessed of the administration, hastened the advance of the Duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likewise was again equipped; and under the command of De Ruyter, cruised near the straits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the English navy, now stronger than ever, came full sail upon them. The Dutch admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. John's road near Boulogne. Here he sheltered himself, both from the English, and from a furious storm which arose. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helen's, where he stayed some time, in order to repair the damages which he had sustained. Meanwhile the Duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and passed the English fleet unperceived; but he did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been seized with a fever: many of the chief officers had fallen into sickness: a contagious distemper was spread through the fleet: and the states thought it necessary to recall them into their harbours, before the enemy could be refitted. The French king, anxious for his navy, which, with so much care and industry, he had lately built, despatched orders to Beaufort, to make the best of his way to Brest. That admiral had again the good fortune to pass the English: one ship alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

3rd Sept. Fire of London.

While the war continued without any decisive success on either side, a calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great consternation. Fire, breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The king and duke used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames,

but all their industry was unsuccessful. About four hundred streets, and thirteen thousand houses, were reduced to ashes.

The causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the Catholics; though it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either party. As the Papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour which threw the guilt on them was more favourably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest inquiry by a committee of Parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription engraved by authority on the monument ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. This clause was erased by order of King James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing which flatters their prevailing passion!

The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has proved in the issue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time, and care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before. A discretionary power was assumed by the king to regulate the distribution of the buildings, and to forbid the use of lath and timber, the materials of which the houses were formerly composed. The necessity was so urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that no exceptions were taken at an exercise of authority, which otherwise might have been deemed illegal. Had the king been enabled to carry his power still farther, and made the houses be rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan, he had much contributed to the convenience, as well as embellishment, of the city. Great advantages, however,

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have resulted from the alterations; though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which used to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared since that calamity.

The Parliament met soon after, and gave the sanction of law to those regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners for deciding all such questions of property as might arise from the fire. They likewise voted a supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by assessments. Though their inquiry brought out no proofs which could fix on the Papists the burning of London, the general aversion against that sect still prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous increase. Charles, at the desire of the Commons, issued a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and Jesuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, destroyed all confidence in his sincerity, whenever he pretended an aversion towards the Catholic religion. Whether suspicions of this nature had diminished the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears that the supply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public necessities seemed to require. The intrigues of the Duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only steadiness to render him extremely dangerous, had somewhat embarrassed the measures of the court; and this was the first time that the king found any considerable reason to complain of a failure of confidence in this House of Commons. The rising symptoms of ill-humour, tended, no doubt, to quicken the steps which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

Advances towards peace.

Charles began to be sensible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken were likely to prove entirely abortive. The Dutch, even when single, had defended themselves with vigour, and were every day improving in their military skill and preparations. Though their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive credit enabled them to levy great sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained for want of pay, the

Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved so fruitless and destructive. CHAP. LXIV. 1666.

The first advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the king sent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he insinuated to the states his desire for peace on reasonable terms; and their answer corresponded in the same amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority, still insisted that the states should treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment so far as concerned themselves: but being engaged in an alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. On a sudden, the king went so far on the other side as to offer the sending of ambassadors to the Hague; but this proposal, which seemed honourable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and distract them, by affording the English an opportunity to carry on cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they stood before the war; or that both parties should continue in possession of their present acquisitions. Charles accepted of the latter proposal; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the Isle of Polerone. This island lies in the East Indies, and was formerly valuable for its produce of spices. The English had been masters of it, but were dispossessed at the time when the violences were committed against them at Amboyna. Cromwell had stipulated to have it restored, and the Hollanders, having first entirely destroyed all the spice-trees, maintained, that they had executed the 1667.

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treaty, but that the English had been anew expelled during the course of the war. Charles renewed his pretensions to this island; and as the reasons on both sides began to multiply, and seemed to require a long discussion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place, and Charles made choice of Breda.

Lord Hollis and Henry Coventry were the English ambassadors. They immediately desired that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims should be adjusted: but this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected by the credit of De Wit. That penetrating and active minister, thoroughly acquainted with the characters of princes and the situation of affairs, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries, which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English.

Whatever projects might have been formed by Charles for secreting the money granted him by Parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expenses of such vast armaments had exhausted all the supplies[g]; and even a great debt was contracted to the seamen. The king therefore was resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well those which had been occasioned by the war, as those which he had formerly contracted. He observed, that the Dutch had been with great reluctance forced into the war, and that the events of it were not such as to inspire them with great desire of its continuance. The French, he knew, had been engaged into hostilities by no other motive than that of supporting their ally, and were now more desirous than ever of putting an end to the quarrel. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of peace appeared infallible; and nothing but forms, at least some vain

[g] The Dutch had spent on the war near forty millions of livres a year, above three millions sterling: a much greater sum than had been granted by the English Parliament. D'Estrades, 24th of December, 1665; 1st of January, 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want of money which engaged the king to pay the seamen with tickets; a contrivance which proved so much to their loss.

points of honour, seemed to remain for the ambassadors at Breda to discuss. In this situation, Charles, moved by an ill-timed frugality, remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest affronts which it has ever received. Two small squadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with such potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almost in the same situation as in times of the most profound tranquillity. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames, under the command of De Ruyter, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnor-castle: but all these preparations were unequal to the present necessity. Sheerness was soon taken; nor could it be saved by the valour of Sir Edward Sprague, who defended it. Having the advantage of a spring tide and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships which had been there sunk by orders of the Duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ships which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth. After damaging several vessels, and possessing themselves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had burned, they advanced, with six men of war and five fire-ships, as far as Upnor-castle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," he said, "that a Douglas had left his post without orders[h]." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery: the train-bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt: they met with no

10th June. Disgrace at Chatham.

[h] Temple, vol. ii. p. 41.

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better success at Plymouth: they insulted Harwich: they sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities. His interest required that a balance should be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrolled superiority should be given to either.

Great indignation prevailed among the English to see an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now of a sudden ride undisputed masters of the ocean, burn their ships in their very harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the capital itself. But though the cause of all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor to the ill behaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries, who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that supposition had been treated with such severity[i].

In the present distress, two expedients were embraced: an army of twelve thousand men was suddenly levied; and the parliament, though it lay under prorogation, was summoned to meet. The Houses were very thin; and the only vote which the Commons passed was an address for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expression of jealousy showed the court what they might expect from that assembly; and it was thought more prudent to prorogue them till next winter.

10th July. Peace of Breda.

But the signing of the treaty at Breda extricated the king from his present difficulties. The English ambassadors received orders to recede from those demands, which, however frivolous in themselves, could not now

[i] Some nonconformists, however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correspondence with the states, and had entertained projects for insurrections, but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them. D'Estrades, 13th October, 1665.

be relinquished, without acknowledging a superiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships, Bonaventure and Good-hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted on: Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquisition of New York, a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

Clarendon's fall.

To appease the people by some sacrifice seemed requisite before the meeting of Parliament; and the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. The chancellor was at this time much exposed to the hatred of the public, and of every party which divided the nation. All the numerous sectaries regarded him as their determined enemy, and ascribed to his advice and influence those persecuting laws to which they had lately been exposed. The Catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king and the duke would be entirely useless to them, nor must they ever expect any favour or indulgence. Even the royalists, disappointed in their sanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, into whose hands the king seemed at first to have resigned the whole power of government. The sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war; all these misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had ever opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it still his duty to justify what he could not prevent. A building, likewise, of more expense and magnificence than his slender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much exposed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk-House.

The king himself, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. Amidst the dissolute manners of the court, that minister still maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not submit to any condescensions, which he deemed unworthy of his

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age and character. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent for ridicule, but exposed in his own conduct to all the ridicule which he threw on others, still made him the object of his raillery, and gradually lessened in the king that regard which he bore to his minister. When any difficulties arose either for want of power or money, the blame was still thrown on him, who, it was believed, had carefully at the restoration checked all lavish concessions to the king. And what perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found in Clarendon, it is said, obstacles to his pleasures as well as to his ambition.

The king, disgusted with the homely person of his consort, and desirous of having children, had hearkened to proposals of obtaining a divorce, on pretence either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of having made a vow of chastity before her marriage. He was farther stimulated by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter of a Scotch gentleman; a lady of great beauty, and whose virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: but Clarendon, apprehensive of the consequences attending a disputed title, and perhaps anxious for the succession of his own grandchildren, engaged the Duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the king's hopes. It is pretended that Charles never forgave this disappointment.

When politics, therefore, and inclination both concurred to make the king sacrifice Clarendon to popular prejudices, the memory of his past services was not able any longer to delay his fall. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord-keeper. Southampton, the treasurer, was now dead, who had persevered to the utmost in his attachments to the chancellor. The last time he appeared at the council table, he exerted his friendship with a vigour, which neither age nor infirmities could abate, "This man," said he, speaking of Clarendon, "is a true Protestant and an honest Englishman; and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the consequences of his removal."

But the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: his total ruin was re-

solved on. The Duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. Both prince and people united in promoting that violent measure; and no means were thought so proper for ingratiating the court with a Parliament, which had so long been governed by that very minister, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

Some popular acts paved the way for the session; and the Parliament, in their first address, gave the king thanks for these instances of his goodness, and among the rest, they took care to mention his dismission of Clarendon. The king, in reply, assured the Houses that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatsoever. Immediately the charge against him was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, and consisted of seventeen articles. The House, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles[k] we know to be either false or frivolous; and such of them as we are less acquainted with, we may fairly presume to be no better grounded. His advising the sale of Dunkirk seems the heaviest and truest part of the charge; but a mistake in judgment, allowing it to be such, where there appear no symptoms of corruption or bad intentions, it would be very hard to impute as a crime to any minister: the king's necessities, which occasioned that measure, cannot, with any appearance of reason, be charged on Clarendon; and chiefly proceeded from the over frugal maxims of the Parliament itself, in not granting the proper supplies to the crown.

When the impeachment was carried up to the Peers, as it contained an accusation of treason in general, without specifying any particulars, it seemed not a sufficient ground for committing Clarendon to custody. The precedents of Strafford and Laud were not, by reason of the violence of the times, deemed a proper authority; but as the Commons still insisted upon his commitment, it was necessary to appoint a free conference between the Houses. The Lords persevered in their resolution; and the Commons voted this conduct to be an obstruction to

[k] See note [U], at the end of the volume.

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public justice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous tendency. They also chose a committee to draw up a vindication of their own proceedings.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuosity against him, and that a defence, offered to such prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw. At Calais he wrote a paper addressed to the House of Lords. He there said, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the king; that during the first years after the restoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counsellors, men of such reputation that no one could entertain suspicions of their wisdom or integrity; that his credit soon declined, and however he might disapprove of some measures, he found it vain to oppose them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the source of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his disapprobation of many unhappy steps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of public offences, his real crime, that which had exasperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent opposition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of suitors had extorted from his majesty.

The Lords transmitted this paper to the Commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both Houses, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The Parliament next proceeded to exert their legislative power against Clarendon, and passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, which received the royal assent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner: he survived his banishment six years; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does honour to his memory; and except Whitlocke's Memorials, is the most candid account of those times, composed by any contemporary author.

Clarendon's banishment.

Clarendon was always a friend to the liberty and constitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late king's service,

and was honoured with a great share in the esteem and friendship of that monarch: he was pursued with unrelenting animosity by the Long Parliament: he had shared all the fortunes, and directed all the counsels of the present king during his exile: he had been advanced to the highest trust and offices after the restoration: yet all these circumstances, which might naturally operate with such force, either on resentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is said, that when he first engaged in the study of the law, his father exhorted him with great earnestness to shun the practice so common in that profession, of straining every point in favour of prerogative, and perverting so useful a science to the oppression of liberty: and in the midst of these rational and virtuous counsels, which he reiterated, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, and he expired in his son's presence. This circumstance gave additional weight to the principles which he inculcated. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

The combination of king and subject to oppress so good a minister affords, to men of opposite dispositions, an equal occasion of inveighing against the ingratitude of princes, or ignorance of the people. Charles seems never to have mitigated his resentment against Clarendon; and the national prejudices pursued him to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremities, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interposed.

The next expedient which the king embraced in order to acquire popularity is more deserving of praise; and, had it been steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory respected. It is the Triple Alliance of which I speak; a measure which gave entire satisfaction to the public. 1668.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neigh- State of France.

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bouring nations. The independent power and mutinous spirit of the nobility were subdued: the popular pretensions of the Parliament restrained: the Hugonot party reduced to subjection: that extensive and fertile country, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants: and while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprises, it was tamed to an entire submission under the will of the sovereign.

Character of Lewis XIV.

The sovereign who now filled the throne was well adapted, by his personal character, both to increase and to avail himself of these advantages. Lewis XIV., endowed with every quality which could enchant the people, possessed many which merit the approbation of the wise. The masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air: the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness: elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleasure without neglecting business, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midst of arbitrary power, he surpassed all contemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory.

His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, had carefully provided every means of conquest; and before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely ensured success. His finances were brought into order: a naval power created: his armies increased and disciplined: magazines and military stores provided: and though the magnificence of his court was supported beyond all former example, so regular was the economy observed, and so willingly did the people, now enriched by arts and commerce, submit to multiplied taxes, that his military force much exceeded what in any preceding age had ever been employed by any European monarch.

The sudden decline and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy, opened an inviting field to so enterprising a prince, and seemed to promise him easy and extensive conquests. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill governed, were astonished at the greatness of his rising empire: and all of them cast their eyes towards Eng-

land, as the only power which could save them from that subjection with which they seemed to be so nearly threatened. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

The animosity which had anciently subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century by the jealousy of Spanish greatness, began to revive and to exert itself. The glory of preserving the balance of Europe, a glory so much founded on justice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future security, by opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had contributed, among other reasons, to render the peace of Breda so universally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip IV. King of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and some very slender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis espoused the Spanish princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the most accurate and most precise terms that language could afford. But on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain; but as the Queen of France was of a former marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother. By the customs of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important duchy.

French invasion of the Low Countries.

A claim of this nature was more properly supported by military force than by argument and reasoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of forty thousand men, commanded by the best generals of the age, and provided with every thing necessary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreseen this measure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, fortifications, or garrisons,

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fell into the hands of the French king, as soon as he presented himself before them. Athe, Lisle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche, were immediately taken: and it was visible that no force in the Low Countries was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms.

This measure, executed with such celerity and success, gave great alarm to almost every court in Europe. It had been observed with what dignity, or even haughtiness, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever supported all his rights and pretensions. D'Estrades, the French ambassador, and Watteville, the Spanish, having quarrelled in London, on account of their claims for precedency, the French monarch was not satisfied till Spain sent to Paris a solemn embassy, and promised never more to revive such contests. Crequi, his ambassador at Rome, had met with an affront from the pope's guards: the pope, Alexander VII., had been constrained to break his guards, to send his nephew to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his own humiliation. The King of England too had experienced the high spirit and unsubmitting temper of Lewis. A pretension to superiority in the English flag having been advanced, the French monarch remonstrated with such vigour, and prepared himself to resist with such courage, that Charles found it more prudent to desist from his vain and antiquated claims. "The King of England," said Lewis to his ambassador, D'Estrades, "may know my force, but he knows not the sentiments of my heart: every thing appears to me contemptible in comparison of glory[1]." These measures of conduct had given strong indications of his character: but the invasion of Flanders discovered an ambition which, being supported by such overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no state lay nearer the danger, none was seized with more terror than the United Provinces. They were still engaged, together with France, in a war against England; and Lewis had promised them that he would take no step against Spain without previously informing them: but, contrary to this assurance, he kept a total

[1] 25th of January, 1662.

silence, till on the very point of entering upon action. If the renunciation made at the treaty of the Pyrenees was not valid, it was foreseen, that upon the death of the King of Spain, a sickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis, after which it would be vainly expected to set bounds to his pretensions. Charles, acquainted with these well-grounded apprehensions of the Dutch, had been the more obstinate in insisting on his own conditions at Breda; and by delaying to sign the treaty, had imprudently exposed himself to the signal disgrace which he received at Chatham. De Wit, sensible that a few weeks' delay would be of no consequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of striking an important blow, and of finishing the war with honour to himself and to his country.

Negotiations.

Negotiations, meanwhile, commenced for the saving of Flanders; but no resistance was made to the French arms. The Spanish ministers exclaimed every where against the flagrant injustice of Lewis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every power in Europe, even more than of Spain itself, to prevent his conquest of the Low Countries. The emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent; but their motions were slow and backward. The states, though terrified at the prospect of having their frontier exposed to so formidable a foe, saw no resource, no means of safety. England indeed seemed disposed to make opposition to the French; but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles kept that republic from making him any open advances, by which she might lose the friendship of France, without acquiring any new ally. And though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended, lest these, either from the obstinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, should never be carried into execution.

Charles resolved with great prudence to take the first step towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the states the means of saving the Netherlands. This man, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it,

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was frank, open, sincere, superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: and meeting in De Wit with a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was from the first negotiated between these two statesmen with the same cordiality as if it were a private transaction between intimate companions. Deeming the interests of their country the same, they gave full scope to that sympathy of character which disposed them to an entire reliance on each other's professions and engagements; and though jealousy against the house of Orange might inspire De Wit with an aversion to a strict union with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service.

Temple insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests: but De Wit told him, that this measure was too bold and precipitate to be agreed to by the states. He said, that the French were the old and constant allies of the republic; and till matters came to extremities, she never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendship so well established, and rely entirely on a treaty with England, which had lately waged so cruel a war against her: that ever since the reign of Elizabeth, there had been such a fluctuation in the English councils, that it was not possible, for two years together, to take any sure or certain measures with that kingdom: that though the present ministry, having entered into views so conformable to national interest, promised greater firmness and constancy, it might still be unsafe, in a business of such consequence, to put entire confidence in them: that the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremities rather than submit: that it was sufficient, if he could be constrained to adhere to the offers which he himself had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby saved from the danger with which they were at present threatened: and that the other powers, in Germany and the north, whose assistance they might expect, would be satisfied with

putting a stop to the French conquests, without pretending to recover the places already lost.

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The English minister was content to accept of the terms proposed by the pensionary. Lewis had offered to relinquish all the queen's rights, on condition either of keeping the conquests which he had made last campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this proposal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refused, they agreed that France should not prosecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed to Spain. A defensive alliance was likewise concluded between Holland and England.

The articles of this confederacy were soon adjusted by such candid and able negotiators: but the greatest difficulty still remained. By the constitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces must give their consent to every alliance; and besides that this formality could not be despatched in less than two months, it was justly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obstruct the passing of the treaty in some of the smaller cities. D'Estrades, the French ambassador, a man of abilities, hearing of the league which was on the carpet, treated it lightly: "Six weeks hence," said he, "we shall speak to it." To obviate this difficulty, De Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in so fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States-General at once to sign and ratify the league: though they acknowledged that, if that measure should displease their constituents, they risked their heads by this irregularity. After sealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. 13th Jan. Temple cried out, *At Breda as friends: here, as brothers.* And De Wit added, that now the matter was finished, it looked like a miracle.

Room had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained; and thus was Triple league.

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concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal surprise and approbation by the world. Notwithstanding the unfortunate conclusion of the last war, England now appeared in her proper station, and, by this wise conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewise received great applause; but to all the compliments made him on the occasion, he modestly replied, that to remove things from their centre, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themselves they easily returned to it.

The French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure. Not only bounds were at present set to his ambition: such a barrier was also raised as seemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had prescribed so short a time for the acceptance of it, that he still expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find some opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid showed equal displeasure. To relinquish any part of the Spanish provinces, in lieu of claims so apparently unjust, and these urged with such violence and haughtiness, inspired the highest disgust. Often did the Spaniards threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries, rather than submit to so cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous measures for their support. But Temple and De Wit were better acquainted with the views and interests of Spain. They knew that she must still retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch should happen to die without issue, could ensure her independency against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in case of refusal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was minister for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D'Ohna for Sweden.

Spain at last, pressed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered; but in her very compliance, she gave strong symptoms of ill-humour and discontent. It had been apparent that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spanish monarchy, had been

anxious only for their own security; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a distance from their frontier, were more indifferent what progress he made in other places. Sensible of these views, the Queen-regent of Spain resolved still to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at present to enter into. Franche-comté, by a vigorous and well-concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered in fifteen days, during a rigorous season, and in the midst of winter. She chose, therefore, to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign. By this means Lewis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish provinces.

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Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

But notwithstanding the advantages of his situation, the French monarch could entertain small hopes of ever extending his conquests on that quarter which lay the most exposed to his ambition, and where his acquisitions were of most importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the emperor and other powers of Germany, whose interest seemed to be intimately concerned, were invited to enter into the same confederacy. Spain herself, having about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour and opposition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The great satisfaction expressed in England, on account of the counsels now embraced by the court, promised the hearty concurrence of Parliament in every measure which could be proposed for opposition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe seemed to repose herself with security under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had been so happily formed for her protection. It is now time to give some account of the state of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Scottish nation, though they had never been subject to the arbitrary power of their prince, had but very imperfect notions of law and liberty; and scarcely in any age had they ever enjoyed an administration which had confined itself within the proper boundaries. By

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their final union alone with England, their once hated adversary, they have happily attained the experience of a government perfectly regular, and exempt from all violence and injustice. Charles, from his aversion to business, had entrusted the affairs of that country to his ministers, particularly Middleton; and these could not forbear making very extraordinary stretches of authority.

There had been intercepted a letter written by Lord Lorne to Lord Duffus, in which, a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavoured by falsehood to prepossess the king against him. But he said, that he had now discovered them, had defeated them, and had gained the person, meaning the Earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the Parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old, tyrannical, absurd law against *leasing-making;* by which it was rendered criminal to belie the subjects to the king, or create in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die: but Charles was much displeased with the sentence, and granted him a pardon [m].

It was carried in Parliament, that twelve persons without crime, witness, trial, or accuser, should be declared incapable of all trust or office; and to render this injustice more egregious, it was agreed that these persons should be named by ballot: a method of voting which several republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could serve only as a cover to malice and iniquity in the inflicting of punishments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray, among others, were incapacitated: but the king, who disapproved of this injustice, refused his assent [n].

An act was passed against all persons, who should move the king for restoring the children of those who were attainted by Parliament; an unheard-of restraint on applications for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had established it as a maxim, that the assigning of a punishment was a limitation of the crown: whereas a law, forbidding any thing, though without a penalty, made the offenders criminal.

[m] Burnet, p. 149. [n] Ibid. p. 152.

And in that case, they determined that the punishment was arbitrary, only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commissioner passed this act, though he had no instructions for that purpose.

An act of indemnity passed; but at the same time it was voted that all those who had offended during the late disorders should be subjected to fines; and a committee of Parliament was appointed for imposing them. These proceeded without any regard to some equitable rules, which the king had prescribed to them[o]. The most obnoxious compounded secretly. No consideration was had, either of men's riches or of the degrees of their guilt; no proofs were produced; inquiries were not so much as made; but as fast as information was given against any man, he was marked down for a particular fine: and all was transacted in a secret committee. When the list was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to several: some had been under age during the civil wars; some had been abroad. But it was still replied, that a proper time would come, when every man should be heard in his own defence. The only intention, it was said, of setting the fines was, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the sum demanded: every one that chose to stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril. It was well known, that no one would dare so far to set at defiance so arbitrary an administration. The king wrote to the council, ordering them to supersede the levying of those fines; but Middleton found means, during some time, to elude these orders[p]. And at last the king obliged his ministers to compound for half the sums which had been imposed. In all these transactions, and in most others which passed during the present reign, we still find the moderating hand of the king interposed to protect the Scots from the oppressions which their own countrymen, employed in the ministry, were desirous of exercising over them.

But the chief circumstance, whence were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the establishment of episcopacy: a mode of government to which a great part of the nation had entertained an insurmountable aversion. The rights

[o] Burnet, p. 147.

[p] Ibid. p. 201.

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of patrons had for some years been abolished; and the power of electing ministers had been vested in the kirk-session, and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, should receive a presentation from the patron, and should be instituted anew by the bishop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid presbyterians concerted measures among themselves, and refused obedience: they imagined that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty parishes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The western counties chiefly were obstinate in this particular. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom; and no one was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and respected their former teachers; men remarkable for the severity of their manners and their fervour in preaching; were inflamed against these intruders, who had obtained their livings under such invidious circumstances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to soften the prejudices entertained against them. Even most of those who retained their livings by compliance, fell under the imputation of hypocrisy, either by their showing a disgust to the new model of ecclesiastical government, which they had acknowledged; or, on the other hand, by declaring that their former abhorrence to presbytery and the covenant had been the result of violence and necessity. And as Middleton and the new ministry indulged themselves in great riot and disorder, to which the nation had been little accustomed, an opinion universally prevailed, that any form of religion offered by such hands, must be profane and impious.

The people, notwithstanding their discontents, were resolved to give no handle against them, by the least symptom of mutiny or sedition; but this submissive disposition, instead of procuring a mitigation of the rigours, was made use of as an argument for continuing the same measures, which, by their vigour, it was pretended, had produced so prompt an obedience. The king, however, was disgusted with the violence of Middleton [q]; and he made Rothes commissioner in his place. This nobleman was already president of the council; and soon after was made lord-keeper and treasurer. Lauderdale still con-

[q] Burnet, p. 202.

tinued secretary of state, and commonly resided at London.

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Affairs remained in a peaceable state, till the severe law was made in England against conventicles [r]. The Scottish Parliament imitated that violence, by passing a like act. A kind of high commission court was appointed by the privy council for executing this rigorous law, and for the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let loose by the council. Wherever the people had generally forsaken their churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whose natural ferocity of temper was often inflamed by the use of strong liquors. He went about and received from the clergy lists of those who absented themselves from church, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction he demanded a fine from them, and quartered soldiers on the supposed delinquents, till he received payment. As an insurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and entrusted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond; two officers who had served the king during the civil wars, and had afterwards engaged in the service of Russia, where they had increased the native cruelty of their disposition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scottish ministry. Representations were made to the king against these enormities. He seemed touched with the state of the country; and besides giving orders that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued, he signified his opinion that another way of proceeding was necessary for his service [s].

This lenity of the king's came too late to remedy the disorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were instigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They surprised Turner in Dumfries, and resolved to have him put to death; but finding that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they spared his life. At Lanerie, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and published their manifesto;

[r] 1664. [s] Burnet, p. 213.

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in which they professed all submission to the king: they desired only the re-establishment of presbytery, and of their former ministers. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on suspicion; Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had served, but in no high rank, were entrusted by the populace with the command. Their force never exceeded two thousand men; and though the country in general bore them favour, men's spirits were so subdued, that the rebels could expect no farther accession of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose their progress. Their number was now diminished to eight hundred; and these having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the west by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the king's forces [t]. Finding that they could not escape, they stopped their march. Their clergy endeavoured to infuse courage into them. After singing some psalms, the rebels turned on the enemy; and being assisted by the advantage of the ground, they received the first charge very resolutely. But that was all the action: immediately they fell into disorder, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty taken prisoners. The rest, favoured by the night, and by the weariness, and even by the pity of the king's troops, made their escape.

The oppressions which these people had suffered, the delusions under which they laboured, and their inoffensive behaviour during the insurrection, made them the objects of compassion. Yet were the king's ministers, particularly Sharpe, resolved to take severe vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: thirty-five before their own doors in different places. These criminals might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the king put a stop to them. He said, that blood enough had already been shed; and he wrote a letter to the privy council, in which he ordered that such of the prisoners as should simply promise to obey the laws for the future should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations [u]. This letter was brought by Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow; but not being immediately delivered to the council by Sharpe

[t] 28th November, 1666.

[u] Burnet, p. 237.

the president[w], one Maccail had in the interval been put to the torture, under which he expired. He seemed to die in an ecstasy of joy. "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars; farewell, world, and time; farewell, weak and frail body: welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Saviour of the world: and welcome, God, the judge of all!" Such were his last words; and these animated speeches he uttered with an accent and manner which struck all the bystanders with astonishment.

Affairs of Ireland.

The settlement of Ireland after the restoration was a work of greater difficulty than that of England, or even of Scotland. Not only the power, during the former usurpations, had there been vested in the king's enemies: the whole property, in a manner, of the kingdom had also been changed; and it became necessary to redress, but with as little violence as possible, many grievous hardships and iniquities, which were there complained of.

The Irish Catholics had, in 1648, concluded a treaty with Ormond, the king's lieutenant, in which they had stipulated pardon for their past rebellion, and had engaged, under certain conditions, to assist the royal cause: and though the violence of the priests and the bigotry of the people had prevented, in a great measure, the execution of this treaty; yet there were many, who having strictly, at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, seemed on that account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwell having without distinction expelled all the native Irish from the three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare; and among those who had thus been forfeited were many whose innocence was altogether unquestionable. Several Protestants, likewise, and Ormond among the rest, had all along opposed the Irish rebellion; yet having afterwards embraced the king's cause against the Parliament, they were all of them attainted by Cromwell. And there were many officers who had, from the commencement of the insurrection, served in Ireland, and who, because they would not desert the king, had been refused all their arrears by the English commonwealth.

To all these unhappy sufferers some justice seemed to be due: but the difficulty was to find the means of redressing such great and extensive iniquities. Almost all

[w] Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 255.

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the valuable parts of Ireland had been measured out and divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to the Parliament for the suppression of the Irish rebellion, or to the soldiers who had received land in lieu of their arrears. These could not be dispossessed, because they were the most powerful and only armed part of Ireland; because it was requisite to favour them, in order to support the Protestant and English interest in that kingdom; and because they had generally, with a seeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's restoration. The king, therefore, issued a proclamation, in which he promised to maintain their settlement, and at the same time engaged to give redress to the innocent sufferers. There was a quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and some other funds it was thought possible for the king to fulfil both these engagements.

A court of claims was erected, consisting altogether of English commissioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided. Before these were laid four thousand claims of persons craving restitution on account of their innocence; and the commissioners had found leisure to examine only six hundred. It already appeared, that if all these were to be restored, the funds whence the adventurers and soldiers must get reprisals, would fall short of giving them any tolerable satisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety seized all ranks of men: the hopes and fears of every party were excited: these eagerly grasped at recovering their paternal inheritance; those were resolute to maintain their new acquisitions.

The Duke of Ormond was created lord-lieutenant; being the only person whose prudence and equity could compose such jarring interests. A Parliament was assembled at Dublin; and as the Lower House was almost entirely chosen by the soldiers and adventurers, who still kept possession, it was extremely favourable to that interest. The House of Peers showed greater impartiality.

An insurrection was projected, together with a surprisal of the castle of Dublin, by some of the disbanded soldiers; but this design was happily defeated by the vigilance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were punished: Blood, the most desperate of them, escaped into England.

But affairs could not long remain in the confusion and

uncertainty into which they had fallen. All parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to attain some stability; and Ormond interposed his authority for that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a third of their possessions; and as they had purchased their lands at very low prices, they had reason to think themselves favoured by this composition. All those who had been attainted on account of their adhering to the king were restored, and some of the innocent Irish. It was a hard situation, that a man was obliged to prove himself innocent in order to recover possession of the estate which he and his ancestors had ever enjoyed; but the hardship was augmented by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the person had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted to plead his innocence; and he was, for that reason alone, supposed to have been a rebel. The heinous guilt of the Irish nation made men the more readily overlook any iniquity which might fall on individuals; and it was considered, that though it be always the interest of all good governments to prevent injustice, it is not always possible to remedy it, after it has had a long course, and has been attended with great successes.

Ireland began to attain a state of some composure, when it was disturbed by a violent act, passed by the English Parliament, which prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England[x]. Ormond remonstrated strongly against this law. He said, that the present trade carried on between England and Ireland, was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufacture: that if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that island had no other commodity by which they could pay England for their importations, and must have recourse to other nations for a supply: that the industrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets: that the indolent inhabitants of Ireland, finding provisions fall almost to

[x] In 1666.

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nothing, would never be induced to labour, but would perpetuate to all generations their native sloth and barbarism: that by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty but force and violence: and that by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power by which, during its well-grounded discontents, it must necessarily be retained in subjection.

The king was so much convinced of the justness of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill; and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the Commons were resolute in their purpose. Some of the rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been ascribed entirely to the importation of Irish cattle: several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice; particularly those of Buckingham and Ashley, who were desirous of giving Ormond disturbance in his government: and the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their superiority over their dependent state. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the Commons. They even went so far, in the preamble of the bill, as to declare the importation of Irish cattle to be a *nuisance*. By this expression they gave scope to their passion, and at the same time barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law so full of injustice and bad policy. The Lords expunged the word; but as the king was sensible that no supply would be given by the Commons unless they were gratified in their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his interest with the Peers for making the bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not, however, forbear expressing his displeasure at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention which the Commons discovered of retrenching his prerogative.

This law brought great distress for some time upon the Irish; but it has occasioned their applying with greater industry to manufactures, and has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom.

NOTES.

NOTE [A], p. 44.

Mr. Carte, in his Life of the Duke of Ormond, has given us some evidence to prove that this letter was entirely a forgery of the popular leaders, in order to induce the king to sacrifice Strafford. He tells us, that Strafford said so to his son the night before his execution. But there are some reasons why I adhere to the common way of telling the story. 1. The account of the forgery comes through several hands, and from men of characters not fully known to the public: a circumstance which weakens every evidence: it is a hearsay of a hearsay. 2. It seems impossible but young Lord Strafford must inform the king, who would not have failed to trace the forgery, and expose his enemies to their merited infamy. 3. It is not to be conceived but Clarendon and Whitlocke, not to mention others, must have heard of the matter. 4. Sir George Ratcliffe, in his Life of Strafford, tells the story the same way that Clarendon and Whitlocke do. Would he also, who was Strafford's intimate friend, never have heard of the forgery? It is remarkable, that this Life is dedicated or addressed to young Strafford. Would not he have put Sir George right in so material and interesting a fact?

NOTE [B], p. 45.

What made this bill appear of less consequence was, that the Parliament voted tonnage and poundage for no longer a period than two months; and as that branch was more than half of the revenue, and the government could not possibly subsist without it, it seemed indirectly in the power of the Parliament to continue themselves as long as they pleased. This, indeed, was true in the ordinary administration of government; but on the approaches towards a civil war, which was not then foreseen, it had been of great consequence to the king to have reserved the right of dissolution, and to have endured any extremity rather than allow the continuance of the Parliament.

NOTE [C], p. 70.

It is now so universally allowed, notwithstanding some muttering to the contrary, that the king had no hand in the Irish rebellion, that it will be superfluous to insist on a point which seems so clear. I shall only suggest a very few arguments, among an infinite number which occur. (1.) Ought the affirmation of perfidious, infamous rebels, ever to have passed for any authority? (2.) Nobody can tell us what the words of the pretended commission were. That commission which we find in Rushworth, vol. v. p. 400, and in Milton's Works, Toland's edition, is plainly an imposture; because it pretends to be dated in October, 1641, yet mentions facts which happened not till some months after. It appears that the Irish rebels, observing some inconsistence in their first forgery, were obliged to forge this commission anew, yet could not render it coherent or probable. (3.)

Nothing could be more obviously pernicious to the king's cause than the Irish rebellion; because it increased his necessities, and rendered him still more dependent on the Parliament, who had before sufficiently shown on what terms they would assist him. (4.) The instant the king heard of the rebellion, which was a very few days after its commencement, he wrote to the Parliament, and gave over to them the management of the war. Had he built any projects on that rebellion, would he not have waited some little time to see how they would succeed? would he presently have adopted a measure which was evidently so hurtful to his authority? (5.) What can be imagined to be the king's projects? To raise the Irish to arms, I suppose, and bring them over to England for his assistance. But is it not plain that the king never intended to raise war in England? Had that been his intention, would he have rendered the Parliament perpetual? Does it not appear, by the whole train of events, that the Parliament forced him into the war? (6.) The king conveyed to the justices intelligence which ought to have prevented the rebellion. (7.) The Irish Catholics, in all their future transactions with the king, where they endeavoured to excuse their insurrectiou, never had the assurance to plead his commission. Even among themselves they dropped that pretext. It appears that Sir Phelim O'Neale, chiefly, and he only at first, promoted that imposture. See Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. No. 100. 111, 112. 114, 115. 121. 132. 137. (8.) O'Neale himself confessed the imposture on his trial and at his execution. See Nalson, vol. ii. p. 528. Maguire, at his execution, made a like confession. (9.) It is ridiculous to mention the justification which Charles II. gave to the Marquis of Antrim, as if he had acted by his father's commission. Antrim had no hand in the first rebellion and the massacre: he joined not the rebels till two years after: it was with the king's consent, and he did important service in sending over a body of men to Montrose.

NOTE [D], p. 102.

The great courage and conduct displayed by many of the popular leaders have commonly inclined men to do them in one respect more honour than they deserve, and to suppose that, like able politicians, they employed pretences which they secretly despised, in order to serve their selfish purposes. It is, however, probable, if not certain, that they were, generally speaking, the dupes of their own zeal. Hypocrisy, quite pure and free from fanaticism, is perhaps, except among men fixed in a determined philosophical scepticism, then unknown, as rare as fanaticism entirely purged from all mixture of hypocrisy. So congenial to the human mind are religious sentiments, that it is impossible to counterfeit long these holy fervours, without feeling some share of the assumed warmth; and, on the other hand, so precarious and temporary, from the frailty of human nature, is the operation of these spiritual views, that the religious ecstasies, if constantly employed, must often be counterfeit, and must be warped by those more familiar motives of interest and ambition which insensibly gain upon the mind. This indeed seems the key to most of the celebrated characters of that age. Equally full of fraud and of ardour, these pious patriots talked perpetually of seeking the Lord, yet still pursued their own purposes; and have left a memorable lesson to posterity, how delusive, how destructive, that principle is by which they were animated.

With regard to the people, we can entertain no doubt that the controversy was, on their part, entirely theological. The generality of the nation could never have flown out into such fury, in order to obtain new privileges and acquire greater liberty than they and their ancestors had ever been acquainted with. Their fathers had been entirely satisfied with the government of Elizabeth: why should they have been thrown into such extreme rage against Charles, who, from the beginning of his reign, wished only to maintain such a government? And why not, at least, compound matters with him, when, by all his laws, it appeared that he had agreed to depart from it? especially as he had put it entirely out of his power to retract that resolution. It is in vain, therefore, to dignify this civil war, and the parliamentary authors of it, by supposing it to have any other considerable foundation than theological zeal, that great and noted source of animosity among men. The royalists also were very commonly zealots: but as they were, at the same time, maintaining the established constitution, in state as well as church,

they had an object which was natural, and which might produce the greatest passion, even without any considerable mixture of theological fervour.—*The former part of this note was, in the first editions, a part of the text.*

NOTE [E], p. 104.

In some of these declarations, supposed to be penned by Lord Falkland, is found the first regular definition of the constitution, according to our present ideas of it, that occurs in any English composition ; at least any published by authority. The three species of government, monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical, are there plainly distinguished, and the English government is expressly said to be none of them pure, but all of them mixed and tempered together. This style, though the sense of it was implied in many institutions, no former king of England would have used, and no subject would have been permitted to use. Banks, and the crown lawyers against Hambden, in the case of ship-money, insist plainly and openly on the king's absolute and sovereign power. And the opposite lawyers do not deny it: they only assert, that the subjects have also a fundamental property in their goods, and that no part of them can be taken but by their own consent in Parliament. But that the Parliament was instituted to check and control the king, and share the supreme power, would, in all former times, have been esteemed very blunt and indiscreet, if not illegal language. We need not be surprised that governments should long continue, though the boundaries of authority, in their several branches, be implicit, confused, and undetermined. This is the case all over the world. Who can draw an exact line between the spiritual and temporal powers in Catholic states ? What code ascertained the precise authority of the Roman senate, in every occurrence ? Perhaps the English is the first mixed government where the authority of every part has been very accurately defined ; and yet there still remain many very important questions between the two Houses, that, by common consent, are buried in a discreet silence. The king's power is indeed more exactly limited ; but this period, of which we now treat, is the time at which that accuracy commenced. And it appears, from Warwick and Hobbes, that many royalists blamed this philosophical precision in the king's penman, and thought that the veil was very imprudently drawn off the mysteries of government. It is certain that liberty reaped mighty advantages from these controversies and inquiries ; and the royal authority itself became more secure, within those provinces which were assigned to it.—*Since the first publication of this history, the sequel of Lord Clarendon has been published ; where that nobleman asserts, that he himself was the author of most of these remonstrances and memorials of the king.*

NOTE [F], p. 123.

Whitlocke, who was one of the commissioners, says, p. 65, " In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him ; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own, though they were weaker than his own ; and of this the parliament commissioners had experience to their great trouble. They were often waiting on the king, and debating some points of the treaty with him, until midnight, before they could come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most material points, they pressed his majesty with their reasons and best arguments they could use to grant what they desired. The king said he was fully satisfied, and promised to give them his answer in writing according to their desire ; but because it was then past midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he would have it drawn up next morning, (when he commanded them to wait on him again,) and then he would give them his answer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. But next morning the king told them that he had altered his mind ; and some of his friends, of whom the commissioners inquired, told them, that after they were gone, and even his council retired, some of his bed-chamber never left pressing and persuading him till they prevailed on him to change his former resolutions." It is difficult, however, to conceive that any negotiation could have succeeded between the king and Parliament while the latter insisted, as they did all

along, on a total submission to all their demands ; and challenged the whole power, which they professedly intended to employ to the punishment of the king's friends.

NOTE [G], p. 131.

The author is sensible that some blame may be thrown upon him on account of this last clause in Mr. Hambden's character ; as if he were willing to entertain a suspicion of bad intentions, where the actions were praiseworthy. But the author's meaning is directly contrary : he esteems the last actions of Mr. Hambden's life to have been very blamable ; though as they were derived from good motives, only pushed to an extreme, there is room left to believe, that the intentions of that patriot, as well as of many of his party, were laudable. Had the preceding administration of the king, which we are apt to call arbitrary, proceeded from ambition, and an unjust desire of encroaching on the ancient liberties of the people, there would have been less reason for giving him any trust, or leaving in his hands a considerable share of that power which he had so much abused. But if his conduct was derived in a great measure from necessity, and from a natural desire of defending that prerogative which was transmitted to him from his ancestors, and which his Parliaments were visibly encroaching on, there is no reason why he may not be esteemed a very virtuous prince, and entirely worthy of trust from his people. The attempt, therefore, of totally annihilating monarchical power, was a very blamable extreme ; especially as it was attended with the danger, to say the least, of a civil war, which, besides the numberless ills inseparable from it, exposed liberty to much greater perils than it could have incurred under the now limited authority of the king. But as these points could not be supposed so clear during the time, as they are or may be at present, there are great reasons of alleviation for men who were heated by the controversy, or engaged in the action. And it is remarkable, that even at present (such is the force of party prejudices) there are few people who have coolness enough to see these matters in a proper light, or are convinced that the Parliament could prudently have stopped in their pretensions. They still plead the violations of liberty attempted by the king, after granting the petition of right ; without considering the extreme harsh treatment which he met with, after making that great concession, and the impossibility of supporting government by the revenue then settled on the crown. The worst of it is, that there was a great tang of enthusiasm in the conduct of the parliamentary leaders, which, though it might render their conduct sincere, will not much enhance their character with posterity. And though Hambden was, perhaps, less infected with this spirit than many of his associates, he appears not to have been altogether free from it. His intended migration to America, where he could only propose the advantage of enjoying puritanical prayers and sermons, will be allowed a proof of the prevalence of this spirit in him.

NOTE [H], p. 145.

In a letter of the king to the queen, preserved in the British Museum, and published by Mrs. Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 420, he says, that unless religion was preserved, the militia (being not, as in France, a formed powerful strength) would be of little use to the crown ; and that if the pulpits had not obedience, which would never be if presbyterian government was absolutely established, the king would have but small comfort of the militia. This reasoning shows the king's good sense ; and proves that his attachment to episcopacy, though partly founded on religious principles, was also, in his situation, derived from the soundest views of civil policy. In reality, it was easy for the king to perceive, by the necessary connexion between trifles and important matters, and by the connexion maintained at that time between religion and politics, that when he was contending for the surplice, he was in effect fighting for his crown, and even for his head. Few of the popular party could perceive this connexion : most of them were carried headlong by fanaticism, as might be expected in the ignorant multitude. Few even of the leaders seem to have had more enlarged views.

NOTE [I], p. 185.

That Laud's severity was not extreme appears from this fact, that he caused the acts or records of the high commission court to be searched, and found that

there had been fewer suspensions, deprivations, and other punishments, by three, during the seven years of his time, than in any seven years of his predecessor, Abbot, who was, notwithstanding, in great esteem with the House of Commons. *Troubles and Trials of Laud*, p. 164. But Abbot was little attached to the court, and was also a puritan in doctrine, and bore a mortal hatred to the Papists; not to mention that the mutinous spirit was rising higher in the time of Laud, and would less bear control. The maxims, however, of his administration were the same that had ever prevailed in England, and that had place in every other European nation, except Holland, which studied chiefly the interests of commerce, and France, which was fettered by edicts and treaties. To have changed them for the modern maxims of toleration, how reasonable soever, would have been deemed a very bold and dangerous enterprise. It is a principle advanced by President Montesquieu, that where the magistrate is satisfied with the established religion, he ought to repress the first attempts towards innovation, and only grant a toleration to sects that are diffused and established. See l'Esprit des Loix, liv. 25, chap. 10. According to this principle, Laud's indulgence to the Catholics, and severity to the puritans, would admit of apology. I own, however, that it is very questionable, whether persecution can in any case be justified: but at the same time it would be hard to give that appellation to Laud's conduct, who only enforced the act of uniformity, and expelled the clergymen that accepted of benefices, and yet refused to observe the ceremonies which they previously knew to be enjoined by law. He never refused them separate places of worship; because they themselves would have esteemed it impious to demand them, and no less impious to allow them.

NOTE [K], p. 208.

Dr. Birch has written a treatise on this subject. It is not my business to oppose any facts contained in that gentleman's performance. I shall only produce arguments which prove that Glamorgan, when he received his private commission, had injunctions from the king to act altogether in concert with Ormond. (1.) It seems to be implied in the very words of the commission. Glamorgan is empowered and authorized to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in Ireland. "If upon necessity (any *articles*) be condescended unto, wherein the king's lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present publicly to own." Here no articles are mentioned, which are not fit to be communicated to Ormond, but only not fit for him and the king publicly to be seen in, and to avow. (2.) The king's protestation to Ormond ought, both on account of that prince's character and the reasons he assigns, to have the greatest weight. The words are these: "Ormond, I cannot but add to my long letter, that, upon the word of a Christian, I never intended Glamorgan should treat any thing without your approbation, much less without your knowledge. For, besides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his judgment; (though I could not think him so extremely weak as now to my cost I have found;) which you may easily perceive in a postscript of a letter of mine to you." Carte, vol. ii. App. xxiii. It is impossible that any man of honour, however he might dissemble with his enemies, would assert a falsehood in so solemn a manner to his best friend, especially where that person must have had opportunities of knowing the truth. The letter, whose postscript is mentioned by the king, is to be found in Carte, vol. ii. App. xiii. (3.) As the king had really so low an opinion of Glamorgan's understanding, it is very unlikely that he would trust him with the sole management of so important and delicate a treaty: and if he had intended that Glamorgan's negotiation should have been independent of Ormond, he would never have told the latter nobleman of it, nor have put him on his guard against Glamorgan's imprudence. That the king judged aright of this nobleman's character, appears from his *Century of Arts or Scantling of Inventions*, which is a ridiculous compound of lies, chimeras, and impossibilities, and shows what might be expected from such a man. (4.) Mr. Carte has published a whole series of the king's correspondence with Ormond, from the time that Glamorgan came into Ireland; and it is evident that Charles all along considers the lord-lieutenant as the person who was conducting the negotiations with the Irish. The 31st of July, 1645, after the battle of Naseby, being reduced to great straits, he writes earnestly to Ormond to conclude a peace upon certain conditions mentioned, much inferior to those granted by Glamorgan, and to come over himself with all the Irish he could engage in his service. Carte, vol. iii. No. 400. This would have

been a great absurdity if he had already fixed a different canal, by which, on very different conditions, he purposed to establish a peace. On the 22d of October, as his distresses multiply, he somewhat enlarges the conditions, though they still fall short of Glamorgan's; a new absurdity! See Carte, vol. iii. p. 411. (5.) But what is equivalent to a demonstration that Glamorgan was conscious that he had no power to conclude a treaty on these terms, or without consulting the lord-lieutenant, and did not even expect that the king would ratify the articles, is the defeazance which he gave to the Irish council at the time of signing the treaty. "The Earl of Glamorgan does no way intend hereby to oblige his majesty other than he himself shall please, after he has received these ten thousand men as a pledge and testimony of the said Roman Catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his majesty; yet he promises faithfully, upon his word and honour, not to acquaint his majesty with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his majesty to the granting of the particulars in the said articles: but, that done, the said commissioners discharge the said Earl of Glamorgan, both in honour and conscience, of any farther engagement to them therein, though his majesty should not be pleased to grant the said particulars in the articles mentioned: the said earl having given them assurance, upon his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any person whatsoever, discover this defeazance in the interim without their consents." Dr. Birch, p. 96.—All Glamorgan's view was to get troops for the king's service without hurting his own honour or his master's. The wonder only is, why the Irish accepted of a treaty, which bound nobody, and which the very person who concludes it seems to confess he does not expect to be ratified. They probably hoped, that the king would, from their services, be more easily induced to ratify a treaty which was concluded, than to consent to its conclusion. (6.) I might add, that the lord-lieutenant's concurrence in the treaty was the more requisite, because without it the treaty could not be carried into execution by Glamorgan, nor the Irish troops be transported into England; and even with Ormond's concurrence, it clearly appears, that a treaty, so ruinous to the Protestant religion in Ireland, could not be executed in opposition to the zealous Protestants of that kingdom. No one can doubt of this truth, who peruses Ormond's correspondence in Mr. Carte. The king was sufficiently apprized of this difficulty. It appears, indeed, to be the only reason why Ormond objected to the granting of high terms to the Irish Catholics.

Dr. Birch, in p. 360, has published a letter of the king's to Glamorgan, where he says, "Howbeit I know you cannot be but confident of my making good all instructions and promises to you and the nuncio." But it is to be remarked, that this letter is dated April 5, 1646; after there had been a new negotiation entered into between Glamorgan and the Irish, and after a provisional treaty had even been concluded between them. See Dr. Birch, p. 179. The king's assurances, therefore, can plainly relate only to this recent transaction. The old treaty had long been disavowed by the king, and supposed by all parties to be annulled.

NOTE [L], p. 238.

Salmonet, Ludlow, Hollis, &c., all these, especially the last, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwell, are the more to be credited when they advance any fact which may serve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a story, that Cromwell intercepted a letter written to the queen, where the king said, that he would first raise and then destroy Cromwell. But besides that this conduct seems to contradict the character of the king, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is first told by Roger Coke, a very passionate and foolish historian, who wrote, too, so late as King William's reign; and even he mentions it only as a mere rumour or hearsay, without any known foundation. In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill, we meet with another story of an intercepted letter, which deserves some more attention, and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger, Earl of Orrery; "Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwell, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in his great distress at Clonmell, riding out of Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the king's death. Cromwell thereupon said more than once, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him, but, upon something that happened, fell off from that design. Orrery finding them in good humour,

and being alone with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to know, why they would once have closed with his majesty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries. The reason (says he) why we would have closed with the king was this: we found that the Scotch and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them, by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions. But whilst our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber, acquainting us that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter sent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution: that this letter was sewn up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head, about ten of the clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, though some in Dover did. We were at Windsor (said Cromwell) when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and to go in troopers' habits to that inn. We did so; and leaving our man at the gate of the inn, (which had a wicket only open to let persons in and out,) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a saddle, we went into a drinking stall. We there continued drinking cans of beer till about ten of the clock, when our sentinel at the gate gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come. We rose up presently, and just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn swords, and told him we were to search all that went in and out there; but as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his saddle, and so dismiss him. The saddle was ungirt; we carried it into the stall where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the skirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our sentinel) his saddle, told him he was an honest fellow, and bid him go about his business; which he did, pursuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We found in the letter, that his majesty acquainted the queen that he was courted by both factions, the Scotch presbyterians and the army; and that those which bade the fairest for him should have him; but yet he thought he should close with the Scots sooner than with the other. Upon this, we returned to Windsor; and finding we were not like to have good terms from the king, we from that time vowed his destruction." "This relation, suiting well enough with other passages and circumstances at this time, I have inserted to gratify the reader's curiosity." Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 12.

NOTE [M], p. 240.

These are the words: "Laneric; I wonder to hear (if that be true) that some of my friends say, that my going to Jersey would have much more furthered my personal treaty, than my coming hither, for which, as I see no colour of reason, so I had not been here, if I had thought that fancy true, or had not been secured of a personal treaty; of which I neither do, nor I hope will, repent: for I am daily more and more satisfied with the governor, and find these islanders very good, peaceable, and quiet people. This encouragement I have thought not unfit for you to receive, hoping at least it may do good upon others, though needless to you." Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 326. See also Rushworth, part 4, vol. ii. p. 941. All the writers of that age, except Clarendon, represent the king's going to the Isle of Wight as voluntary and intended. Perhaps the king thought it little for his credit to be trepanned into this measure, and was more willing to take it on himself as entirely voluntary. Perhaps he thought it would encourage his friends, if they thought him in a situation which was not disagreeable to him.

NOTE [N], p. 255.

The king composed a letter to the prince, in which he related the whole course of this transaction, and accompanied his narrative with several wise as well as pathetical reflections and advices. The words with which he concluded the letter are remarkable. "By what hath been said, you see how long I have laboured in the search of peace: do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all

worthy means to restore yourself to your rights ; but prefer the way of peace. Show the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our ill-wishers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure me not for having parted with so much of our right. The price was great ; but the commodity was security to us, peace to my people ; and I am confident that another Parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty ; of how much power I divested myself, that I and they might meet once again in a parliamentary way, in order to agree the bounds of prince and people. Give belief to my experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of the subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive that all men entrust their treasure where it returns them interest ; and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams which the rivers entrust with him, they will not grudge but pride themselves to make him up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is a low one ; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned, I dare say, that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated. I know not but this may be the last time I may speak to you or to the world publicly. I am sensible into what hands I am fallen ; and yet, I bless God, I have those inward refreshments which the malice of my enemies cannot perturb. I have learned to be busy myself, by retiring into myself ; and therefore can the better digest whatever befals me, not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies' power, and turn their fierceness into his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly, and be ever far from revenge. If he restore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men, who have violated laws which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you think any thing in the world worth attaining by foul and unjust means."

NOTE [O], p. 273.

The imputation of insincerity on Charles I., like most party clamours, is difficult to be removed ; though it may not here be improper to say something with regard to it. I shall first remark, that this imputation seems to be of a later growth than his own age ; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not insist on this accusation. Ludlow, I think, is almost the only parliamentarian who imputes that vice to him ; and how passionate a writer he is, must be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon, nor any other of the royalists, ever justify him from insincerity, as not supposing that he had ever been accused of it. In the second place, his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice : he was reserved, distant, stately ; cold in his address, plain in his discourse, inflexible in his principles ; wide of the caressing, insinuating manners of his son, or the professing, talkative humour of his father. The imputation of insincerity must be grounded on some of his public actions, which we are therefore in the third place to examine. The following are the only instances which I find cited to confirm that accusation. (1.) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the transactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himself was deceived : why otherwise did he quarrel with Spain ? The following is a passage of a letter from Lord Kensington, ambassador in France, to the Duke of Buckingham. Cabbala, p. 318. " But his highness (the prince) had observed as great a weakness and folly as that, in that, after they (the Spaniards) had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he came into the ship : But did he say so ? said the Queen (of France). Yes, madam, I will assure you, quoth I, from the witness of mine own ears. She smiled and replied, Indeed I have heard he was used ill. So he was, answered I, but not in his entertainment, for that was as splendid as that country could afford it ; but in their frivolous delays, and in the unreasonable conditions which they propounded and pressed, upon the advantage they had of his princely person." (2.) Bp. Burnet, in his History of the House of Hamilton, p. 154, has preserved a letter of the king's to the Scottish bishops, in which he desires them not to be present at the Parliament, where they would be forced to ratify the abolition of their own order : " For," adds the king, " we do hereby assure you, that

it shall be still one of our chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair your losses, which we desire you to be most confident of." And in another place, "You may rest secure, that though perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our own government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both." But does the king say that he will arbitrarily revoke his concessions? Does not candour require us rather to suppose that he hoped his authority would so far recover as to enable him to obtain the national consent to re-establish episcopacy, which he believed so material a part of religion as well as of government? It is not easy, indeed, to think how he could hope to effect this purpose in any other way than his father had taken, that is, by consent of Parliament. (3.) There is a passage in Lord Clarendon, where it is said, that the king assented the more easily to the bill which excluded the bishops from the House of Peers, because he thought that that law, being enacted by force, could not be valid: but the king certainly reasoned right in that conclusion. Three-fourths of the temporal peers were at that time banished by the violence of the populace: twelve bishops were unjustly thrown into the Tower by the Commons: great numbers of the Commons themselves were kept away by fear or violence: the king himself was chased from London. If all this be not force, there is no such thing. But this scruple of the king's affects only the bishops' bill, and that against pressing. The other constitutional laws had passed without the least appearance of violence, as did indeed all the bills passed during the first year, except Strafford's attainder, which could not be recalled. The Parliament, therefore, even if they had known the king's sentiments in this particular, could not, on that account, have had any just foundation of jealousy. (4.) The king's letter intercepted at Naseby has been the source of much clamour. We have spoken of it already in chap. lviii. Nothing is more usual in all public transactions than such distinctions. After the death of Charles II. of Spain, King William's ambassadors gave the Duke of Anjou the title of King of Spain: yet at that very time King William was secretly forming alliances to dethrone him; and soon after, he refused him that title, and insisted (as he had reason) that he had not acknowledged his right. Yet King William justly passes for a very sincere prince; and this transaction is not regarded as any objection to his character in that particular. In all the negotiations at the peace of Ryswick, the French ambassadors always addressed King William as King of England; yet it was made an express article of the treaty, that the French king should acknowledge him as such. Such a palpable difference is there between giving a title to a prince, and positively recognizing his right to it. I may add, that Charles, when he inserted that protestation in the council-books before his council, surely thought he had reason to justify his conduct. There were too many men of honour in that company to avow a palpable cheat. To which we may subjoin, that if men were as much disposed to judge of this prince's actions with candour as severity, this precaution of entering a protest in his council-books might rather pass for a proof of scrupulous honour; lest he should afterwards be reproached with breach of his word, when he should think proper again to declare the assembly at Westminster no Parliament. (5.) The denying of his commission to Glamorgan is another instance which has been cited. This matter has been already treated in a note to chap. lviii. That transaction was entirely innocent. Even if the king had given a commission to Glamorgan to conclude that treaty, and had ratified it, will any reasonable man in our age think it strange, that in order to save his own life, his crown, his family, his friends, and his party, he should make a treaty with Papists, and grant them very large concessions for their religion? (6.) There is another of the king's intercepted letters to the queen commonly mentioned, where it is pretended he talked of raising and then destroying Cromwell; but that story stands on no manner of foundation, as we have observed in a preceding note to this chapter. In a word, the Parliament, after the commencement of their violences, and still more after beginning the civil war, had reason for their scruples and jealousies, founded on the very nature of their situation, and on the general propensity of the human mind, not on any fault of the king's character, who was candid, sincere, upright, as much as any man whom we meet with in history. Perhaps it would be difficult to find another character so unexceptionable in this particular.

As to the other circumstances of Charles's character, chiefly exclaimed against, namely, his arbitrary principles in government, one may venture to assert, that the greatest enemies of this prince will not find, in the long line of his predecessors, from the Conquest to his time, any one king, except perhaps his father,

whose administration was not more arbitrary and less legal, or whose conduct could have been recommended to him by the popular party themselves, as a model, in this particular, for his government. Nor is it sufficient to say, that example and precedent can never authorize vices: examples and precedents, uniform and ancient, can surely fix the nature of any constitution, and the limits of any form of government. There is indeed no other principle by which those landmarks or boundaries can be settled.

What a paradox in human affairs, that Henry VIII. should have been almost adored in his lifetime, and his memory be respected; while Charles I. should, by the same people, at no greater distance than a century, have been led to a public and ignominious execution, and his name be ever after pursued by falsehood and by obloquy! Even at present, an historian who, prompted by his courageous generosity, should venture, though from the most authentic and undisputed facts, to vindicate the fame of that prince, would be sure to meet with such treatment as would discourage even the boldest from so dangerous, however splendid, an enterprise.

NOTE [P], p. 289.

The following instance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his History of Independency, Part II. p. 152. About this time, there came six soldiers into the parish church of Walton upon Thames, near twilight; Mr. Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his sermon. One of the soldiers had a lantern in his hand, and a candle burning in it, and in the other hand four candles not lighted. He desired the parishioners to stay a while, saying he had a message from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refusing to give him leave so to do, or to stay in the church, he went into the churchyard, and there told them that he had a vision, wherein he had received a command from God to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive, upon pain of damnation; consisting of five lights. (1.) "That the sabbath was abolished as unnecessary, Jewish, and merely ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I should put out the first light, but the wind is so high I cannot kindle it. (2.) That tithes are abolished as Jewish and ceremonial, a great burden to the saints of God, and a discouragement of industry and tillage. And here I should put out my second light, &c. (3.) That ministers are abolished as antichristian, and of no longer use, now Christ himself descends into the hearts of his saints, and his Spirit enlighteneth them with revelations and inspirations. And here I should put out my third light, &c. (4.) Magistrates are abolished as useless, now that Christ himself is in purity amongst us, and hath erected the kingdom of the saints upon earth. Besides, they are tyrants, and oppressors of the liberty of the saints, and tie them to laws and ordinances, mere human inventions. And here I should put out my fourth light, &c. (5.) Then putting his hand into his pocket, and pulling out a little Bible, he showed it open to the people, saying, Here is a book you have in great veneration, consisting of two parts, the Old and New Testament: I must tell you it is abolished; it containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes: but now Christ is in glory amongst us, and imparts a farther measure of his Spirit to his saints than this can afford, I am commanded to burn it before your face. Then putting out the candle, he said, And here my fifth light is extinguished." It became a pretty common doctrine at that time, that it was unworthy of a Christian man to pay rent to his fellow-creatures; and landlords were obliged to use all the penalties of law against their tenants whose conscience was scrupulous.

NOTE [Q], p. 322.

When the Earl of Derby was alive, he had been summoned by Ireton to surrender the Isle of Man; and he returned this spirited and memorable answer: "I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn return you this answer: that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes that I should prove, like you, treacherous to my sovereign; since you cannot be ignorant of my former actions in his late majesty's service, from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffers; I disdain your favour; I abhor your treason; and am so far from delivering up this island to your advantage, that I shall keep it to the utmost of my power to your destruction. Take this for your final answer,

and forbear any farther solicitations ; for if you trouble me with any more messages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who accounts it his chiefest glory to be his majesty's most loyal and obedient subject,

"DERBY."

NOTE [R], p. 324.

It had been a usual policy of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to settle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a spy upon his master, and gave them intelligence of the most private transactions and discourses of the family : a signal instance of priestly tyranny and the subjection of the nobility ! They even obliged the servants to give intelligence against their masters. Whitlocke, p. 502. The same author, p. 512, tells the following story. The synod meeting at Perth, and citing the ministers and people, who had expressed a dislike of *their heavenly government*, the men being out of the way, their wives resolved to answer for them. And, on the day of appearance, one hundred and twenty women, with good clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church, where the reverend ministers sat. They sent one of their number to treat with the females ; and he threatening excommunication, they basted him for his labour, kept him prisoner, and sent a party of sixty, who routed the rest of the clergy, bruised their bodies sorely, and took all their baggage and twelve horses. One of the ministers, after a mile's running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a soldier, fell on his knees, who, knowing nothing of the matter, asked the blackcoat what he meant ? The female conquerors, having laid hold on the synod clerk, beat him till he forswore his office. Thirteen ministers rallied about four miles from the place, and voted that this village should never more have a synod in it, but be accursed ; and that though in the years 1638 and 1639, the godly women were cried up for stoning the bishops, yet now the whole sex should be esteemed wicked.

NOTE [S], p. 370.

About this time, an accident had almost robbed the protector of his life, and saved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got six fine Friesland coach-horses as a present from the Count of Oldenburgh, he undertook, for his amusement, to drive them about Hyde-park ; his secretary, Thurloe, being in the coach. The horses were startled and ran away : he was unable to command them or keep the box. He fell upon the pole, was dragged upon the ground for some time ; a pistol, which he carried in his pocket, went off ; and by that singular good fortune which ever attended him, he was taken up without any considerable hurt or bruise.

NOTE [T], p. 419.

After Monk's declaration for a free Parliament on the eleventh of February, he could mean nothing but the king's restoration ; yet it was long before he would open himself even to the king. This declaration was within eight days after his arrival in London. Had he ever intended to have set up for himself, he would not surely have so soon abandoned a project so inviting. He would have taken some steps which would have betrayed it. It could only have been some disappointment, some frustrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the least symptom of such intentions. The story told of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, by Mr. Locke, has not any appearance of truth. See Lord Lansdown's Vindication, and Philip's Continuation of Baker. I shall add to what those authors have advanced, that Cardinal Mazarine wished for the king's restoration, though he would not have ventured much to have procured it.

NOTE [U], p. 505.

The articles were, That he had advised the king to govern by military power without Parliaments ; that he had affirmed the king to be a Papist, or popishly affected ; that he had received great sums of money for procuring the Canary

patent and other illegal patents; that he had advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned, against law, in remote islands and garrisons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law; that he had procured the customs to be farmed at under rates; that he had received great sums from the vintners' company, for allowing them to enhance the price of wines; that he had in a short time gained a greater estate than could have been supposed to arise from the profits of his offices; that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majesty's plantations; that he had rejected a proposal for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's, which was the occasion of great losses in those parts; that when he was in his majesty's service beyond sea, he held a correspondence with Cromwell and his accomplices; that he advised the sale of Dunkirk; that he had unduly altered letters patent under the king's seal; that he had unduly decided causes in council, which should have been brought before chancery; that he had issued quo warrantos against the corporations with an intention of squeezing money from them; that he had taken money for passing the bill of settlement in Ireland; that he betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties; and that he was the principal adviser of dividing the fleet in June, 1666.

END OF VOL. V.

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